ATHLETICS IN ANCIENT ATHENS

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DONALD G. KYLE

ATHLETICS IN ANCIENT ATHENS

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BY

DONALD G. KYLE

SECOND REVISED EDITION

E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN • NEW YORK • KÖLN
1993

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kyle, Donald G.
Athletics in ancient Athens / by Donald G. Kyle. — 2nd rev. ed.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum, ISSN 0169-8958 ; 95)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 9004097597
1. Athletics—Greece—Athens—History. 2. Games—Greece—Athens—History. I. Title. II. Series.
GV21.K95 1993
796'.0938'5—dc20 92-42730
CIP

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 09759 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To the memory of
Mr. H.G. Kyle and
Dr. E.M. Wightman

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PREFACE

It may come as a surprise that no one previously has written a thorough history of Athenian athletics, but then Olympia has always been the focus of sporting attention and also the discipline of sport history is still an emerging one. It is perhaps presumptuous of me to endeavor to treat so much: to examine the athletic history of the best attested and most studied city-state, utilizing a variety of disciplines and types of evidence. Nevertheless, I feel strongly that athletics have been understudied as an integral part of the civic life of Athens, and further that an interdisciplinary approach is needed. My study is intended to show that athletics at Athens (and in other *poleis*) deserve and reward more attention.

Herein the names of classical authors and texts, journals and reference works are abbreviated according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2] or secondarily the system of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (see *AJArch.* 82 (1978): 5-10; 84 (1980): 3-4). An additional list of some frequently cited works and their abbreviations is included. In the footnotes volume numbers of most modern multi-volume works are indicated with Arabic numerals and a colon (i.e. 1 : page number).

The bibliography is one of selected works of relevance and value to this study. A bibliography of all works cited would be one of increased length but decreased value. An attempt has been made to use reliable, standard editions of ancient texts; any textual problems or special editions are indicated in the notes. The translations, intentionally unambitious, are my own unless otherwise indicated.

I have tried to handle the thorny problem of transliteration with some degree of consistency and common sense. Popular spellings of certain names and words, such as Thucydides and gymnasium, are used for convenience. The names of ancient authors and works generally are given in their Latinized forms, while less common terms and most Greek names are transliterated directly.

In its various stages from dissertation (McMaster University, 1981) to book this study has benefitted greatly from the support and scholarship of many people including Daniel J. Geagan, the late E.M. Wightman, G.M. Paul and others. The errors and flaws of the study are fully my own. For financial support for my research I would like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Dalley Fellowship of McMaster University. While in Greece I received gracious assistance from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and from the Epigraphical Museum. I would also like to thank John Travlos

for the use of his excellent maps. For a generous subsidy to aid the publication of this work I thank the University of Texas at Arlington. Finally I want to thank my wife, family and friends for putting up with me and "the book."

University of Texas
at Arlington

DONALD G. KYLE

PREFACE TO THE REPRINT EDITION

Since appearing in January of 1987, this work has survived the attention of reviewers better than a fledgling author might have hoped. Having found some measure of scholarly acceptance because of its contribution and because of the recent growth of the study of ancient sport, the book now seeks a broader audience. This is a reprinting and not a new edition of the work, but I am grateful to Brill for letting me correct some slips and typographical errors, and for allowing me to include this new Preface (with a Selected Supplementary Bibliography at its end) in which to acknowledge some important recent works and developments in the field. Had it been possible, I might have qualified or expanded on various points, but I do not feel compelled to change the work in major ways. I am not claiming that the study is definitive, but I still believe in its approach and major arguments.

Just as new archaeology and ancient social history are increasingly broadening our perspectives on ancient Greece, we can improve our understanding of Greek sport, and of Greek city life, by looking beyond the Panhellenic crown games to examine sport in civic contexts. As a developing city-state Athens was not simply imitating or competing with the interstate sanctuary at Olympia. At Athens the diversity and vitality of both athletics and civic life were interconnected because athletics helped encourage and express civic consciousness. The development of facilities and the commitment of resources and administrative energy to a program of athletic festivals strongly indicate that athletics were a prominent and popular element in the religious, social and civic life of the Athenians. The popularity of athletics at Athens invited politicization, but common Athenians enthusiastically supported the expansion and glorification of athletics by their leaders. Isolated intellectual critics, by their ineffectuality, testify to the appeal of athletics. Actual competion in athletics at any advanced level required leisure time and resources, hence it was inherently elitist; but athletic elitism, in correlation with socio-economic developments in Athens at large, changed from one of birth to one of wealth. My work was not as theoretically or methodologically innovative as it might have been; my intention was to do an evidentially sound study of Athens from a non-traditional perspective. Nevertheless, I do hope that my observations on Athenian athletics are reasonably compatible with recent trends in the study of Athenian life and politics.

Recent scholarship on the importance of festivals, cults, performance and contests in the life of communities increasingly interprets civic cults and ceremonies as expressions of mass interests and not just as political manipulations by individual leaders. W.R. Connor's article is a fine example. Modern cultural and symbolic anthropology regards cultural performances, such as

sports and drama, not as mere entertainment but as distinct systems of meaning by which cultural orders (i.e. values, norms, status relationships) are formulated and reformulated. Shared experiences and communication between ritual performers and audiences are essential to community formation and civic consciousness because people best relate to historical continuity and change by visual or physical memories. On the complex issues of the relationship of Athenian and other athletic victors to their families, their social peers, and the civic community overall, and on the role of victory odes in the social reintegration of those victors, Leslie Kurkes's recent study is illuminating.

Although it's important to appreciate how many Athenian festivals included athletics in some form, the Great Panathenaia, of course, was the greatest of these festivals. I regret that Noel Robertson's 1985 article on the "Origins of the Panathenaia" came to my attention too late for incorporation in the book, for it offers stimulating insights by comparing festivals of Athena at Athens with those at other sites, especially at Lemnos. Very recently, the Panathenaia and the evidence for it have been reexamined in an exhibition, "Goddess and Polis, the Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens," organized by the Hood Museum of Art at Dartmouth College under the guest curatorship of Jenifer Neils. The exhibition brings together Panathenaic vases and other artifacts, and the catalog includes an introduction on the organization and program as well as essays on the cult, the games, and the art of the Panathenaia. Panathenaic vases have been the subject of many recent studies, and Neils' catalog essay treats the scholarship and evidence with admirable thoroughness and balance. For a stimulating work on the Anthesteria festival, which also offers cautionary suggestions about Panathenaics, see R. Hamilton's new book. On the fundamentally important inscription, *IG* II2 2311, as a source for reconstructing the Panathenaic sprogram, as well as for an estimate of the number of Panathenaics produced per festival, see A.W. Johnson's article. For possible comparisons with later programs, now see Stephen V. Tracy and Christian Habicht's article. On the development and influence of the cavalry, see G.R. Bugh's study. My interest in 1987 was in the social and political significance of athletics at Athens, not in technical aspects of the events. However, my catalog essay for the Hood Museum project does include more technical discussion incorporating some recent scholarship on the *apobates, euandria* and other Panathenaic contests. In general I also must recommend Michael B. Poliakoff's study of combat sports for clarifying the terminology and techniques of various events. I did not discuss female athletics because they were not part of the urban athletic program at Athens; for a discussion of female sport at the Arkteia and elsewhere, see Thomas F. Scanlon's article and its notes. For illustrations of athletics in Athens, now see the Hood Museum catalog, and for athletics at Athens and throughout Greece, see the lavishly illustrated catalog, *Mind and Body*, from the 1989 exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.

With both new discoveries and new interpretations, archaeology has continued to advance since 1987. Catherine Morgan's sophisticated archaeological analysis of finds from Olympia and Delphi has helped place these two sites of Panhellenic games in their local contexts and in relation to the emergence of Greek city states in the eighth century; and she uses Athens as an example of some of the patterns she discerns in aristocratic activity relevant to contests and sanctuaries. Where I to expand my study, rather than going into the Hellenistic period, in which athletics underwent some fundamental changes and Athens lost much of its distinctiveness, I would be inclined to do more work on the early years of Athenian athletics. It now seems clear that the clues to the rise of institutionalized Greek sport, with implications for Athens, are to be found in the late Dark Age and the early Archaic period in the context of emerging states, the influence of cults and sanctuaries, and the defensive activities of the aristocracy. Along those lines, while it has no essay specifically on Athens, a valuable anthology edited by Wendy J. Raschke contains important contributions which suggest, among other things, that the early history of cults and games at Olympia needs revision, and that peer polity interaction and competitive emulation helped spread athletic festivals. Rachke's volume also contains a summary by David Young of his important demythologizing of the myth of Greek amateurism; and, with special attention to Athens, I have pursued the themes of amateurism and decline further in the works of E. Norman Gardiner in my 1990 essay.

Scholars of Greek culture and society have always acknowledged that ahtletics were a distinctive and integrfal part of the Greek experience, and yet until recently the study of Greek sport was a minor area of classical studies. As someone who for some time encountered less than enthusiastic reactions to the serious study of ancient sport, it is gratifying to see the striking progress the field has made of late in research, publication and scholarly acceptance. It is notable that Yale University Press initiated its Sport and History Series with Poliakoff's work, and that the 1991 volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* includes three articles on Greek sport. With our modern enthusiasm for sport, scholars have become more appreciative of the study and teaching ancient sport. As Erich Segal has declared in the forward to Waldo E. Sweet's sourcebook: "Sport is the most immutable and modern aspect of our heritage from the Greeks and, therefore, the stadium door is perhaps the most accessible means of entering the ancient world." The appearance of Sweet's sourcebook from Oxford and the revised edition of Stephen G. Miller's sourcebook from the University of California are strong signs of increased teaching and acceptance. Nigel B. Crowther's bibliographic survey and his review article now provide invaluable assistance for research on Greek sport. In addition to coverage of ancient sport in the *Journal of Sport History* and *Stadion*, as well as some coverage also in the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, the *Journal of Sport Literature* and others, a new journal, *Nikephoros*, has ap-

peared focusing specifically on ancient sport. In the last decade the study of Greek athletics has come of age.

Finally, I want to thank Julian Deahl and E.J. Brill for believing in this book in the first place, Dr. D.G. Geagan for years of support and advice, the History Department of the University of Texas at Arlington for their collegiality, and, most of all, my wife Adeline, for being the best teacher I have ever known.

Donald G. Kyle, Arlington 1992

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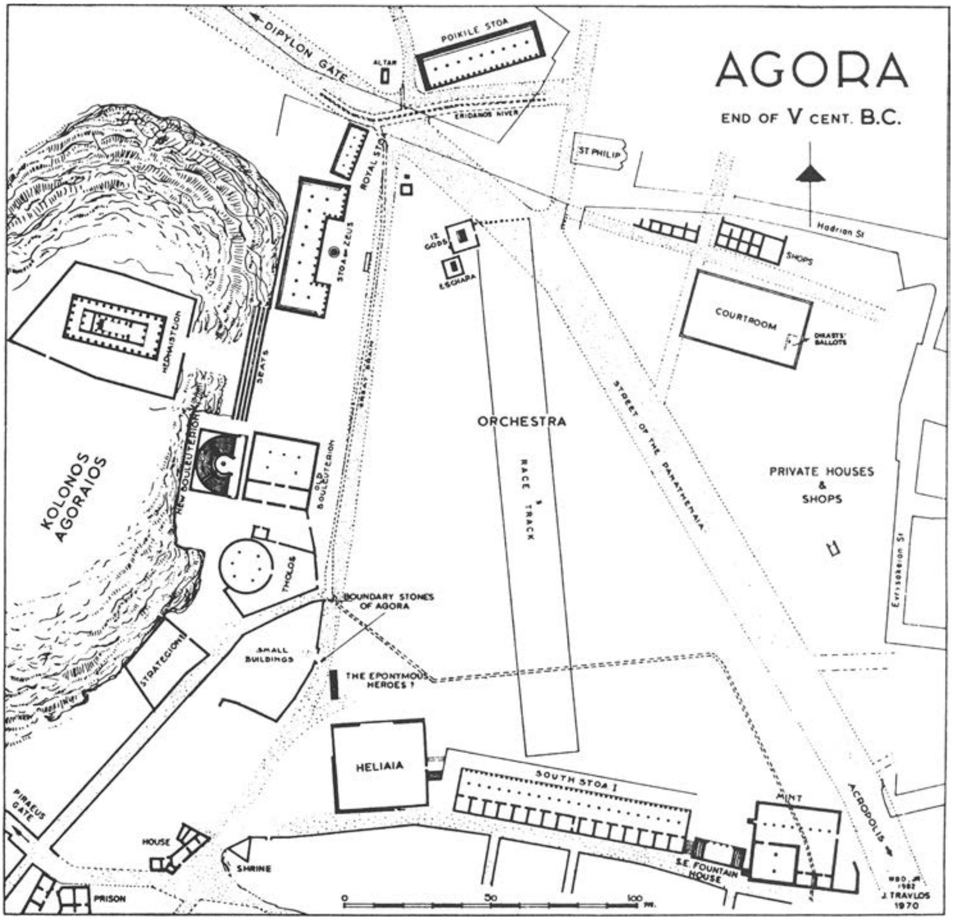
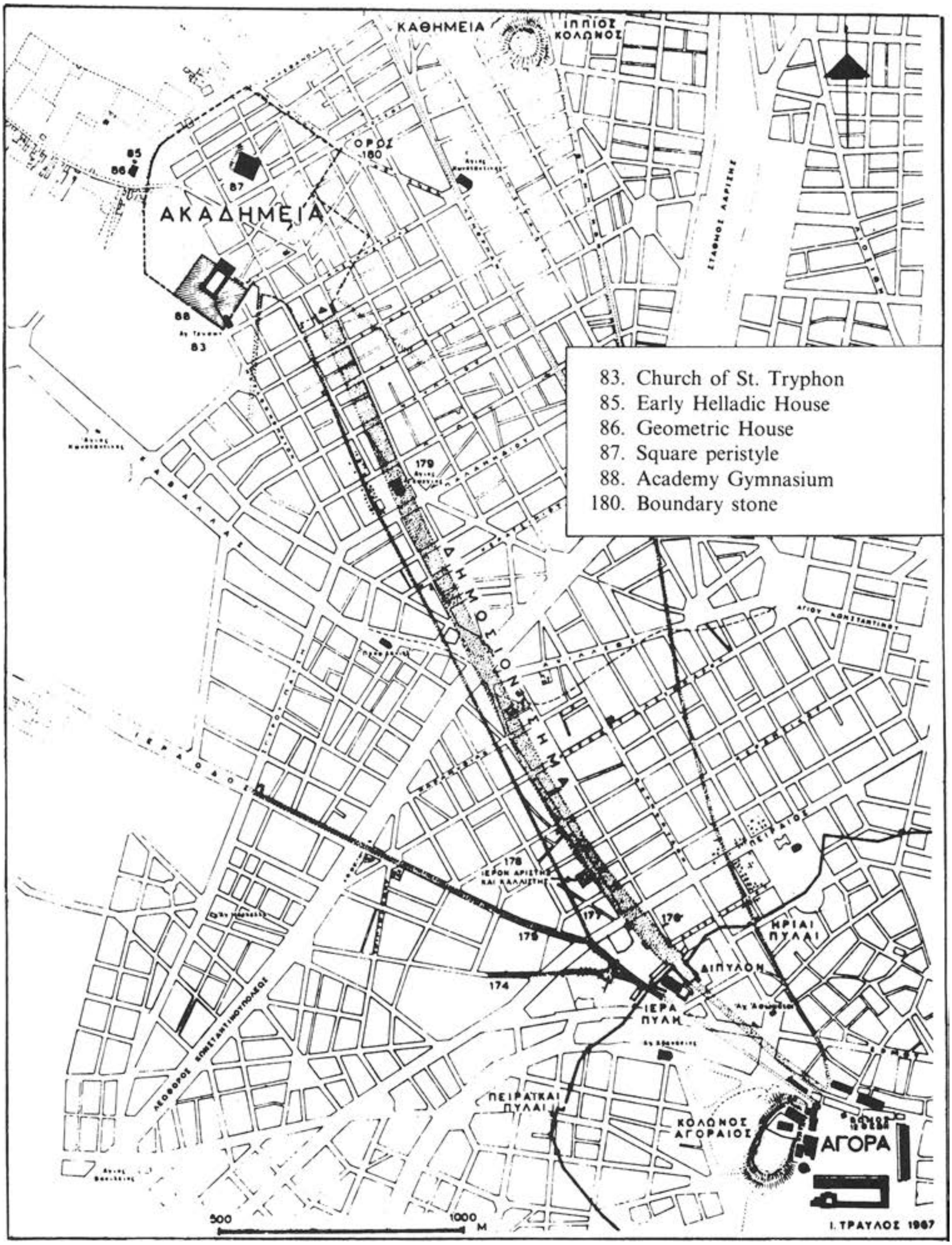
ABBREVIATIONS

Note: For full details, see the *Bibliography*

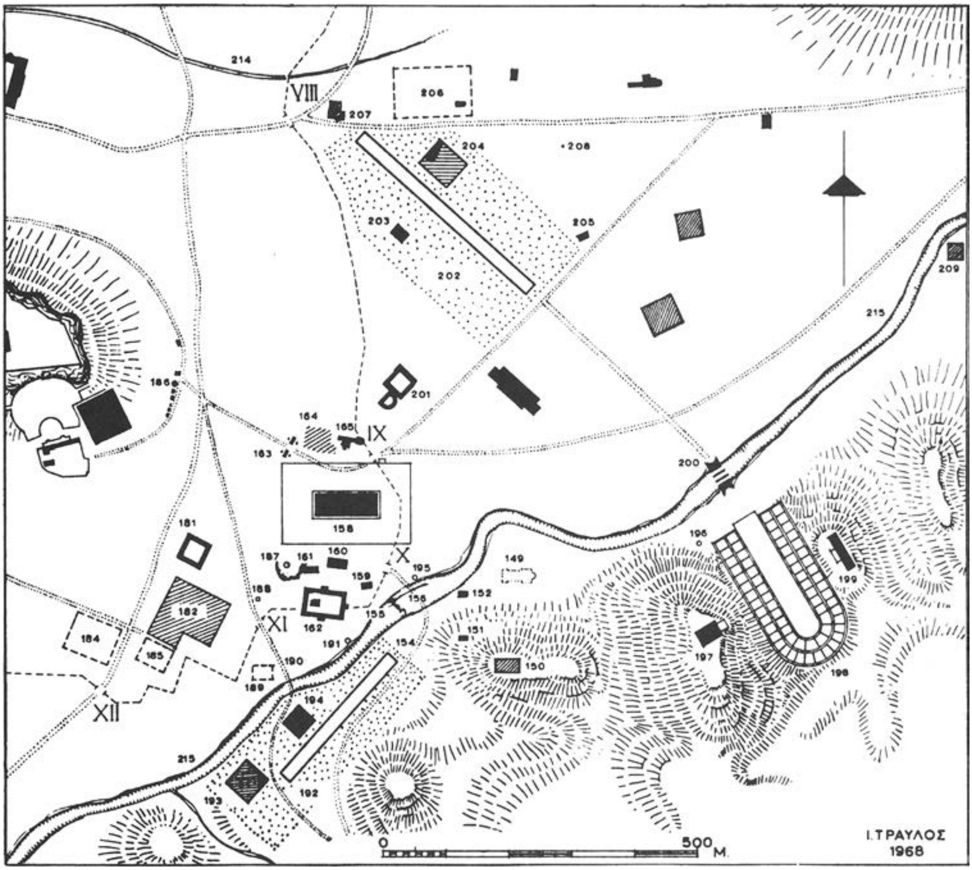
A1, P79 etc.	catalogue entries in Appendix B
Agora III, XIV etc.	American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *The Athenian Agora*, various volumes
APF	J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*
Boersma, *ABP*	J.S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.*
DAA	A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*
Delorme, *Gym.*	J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*
Ebert, *Epigramme*	J. Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*
Forbes, *GPE*	C.A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education*
Gardiner, *AAW*	E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*
Gardiner, *GASF*	E.N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*
Ginouvès, *Bal.*	R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*
Harris, *GAA*	H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*
Harris, *SGR*	H.A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome*
Hyde, *OVM*	W.W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*
IAG	L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*
Judeich, *Topog.*	W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*
Jüthner-Brein	J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, F. Brein ed., 2 vols.
Olym.	L. Moretti, *Olympionikai*
PA	J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*
PDA	J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*
Wycherley, *HGBC*	R.E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*
Wycherley, *Stones*	R.E. Wycherley, *Stones of Athens*
Young, *Olympic Myth*	D.C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics*
Zschietzschmann	W. Zschietzschmann, *Wettkampf- und Übungstätten in Griechenland*, 2 vols.



Map A. The Agora around 400 B.C.
(Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)



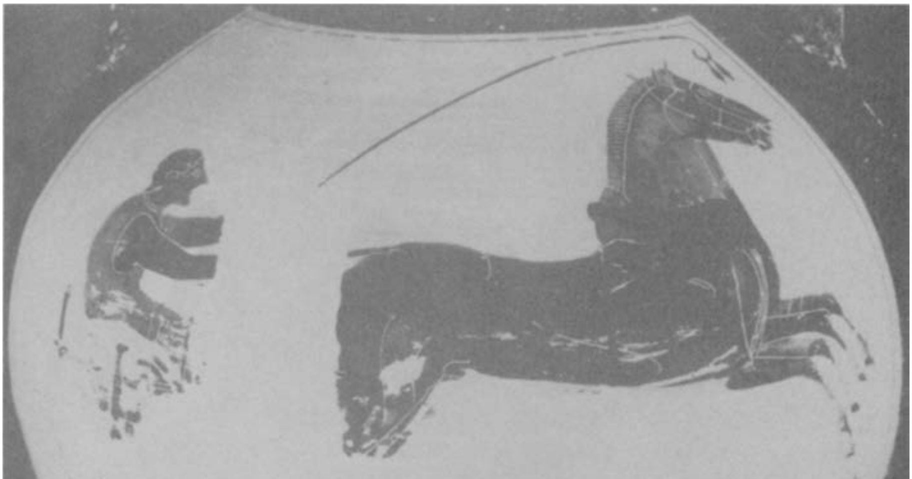
Map B. The Academy, Kerameikos and Agora
(Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)



Map C. The Ilissos Area
(Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

155. Kallirrhoe
158. Olympieion
192. Kynosarges
193. Archaic Building
194. Hadrianic Gymnasium
198. Stadium
201. Roman Building
202. Lyceum
203. Lyceum Bath
204. "Palaestra"
215. Ilissos

(front)



(reverse)

Illustration A : The Burgon Amphora
(Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Illustration B : The Starting Line in the Agora
(Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens : Agora Excavations)

INTRODUCTION

ISSUES AND EVIDENCE

As the queen of agonistic sites and the most revered centre of ancient athletic competition, Olympia has earned and had the royal share of the attention of classicists and sport historians: it remains the ancient (and, less satisfactorily, the modern) ideal and model. Yet, by virtue of its very status as a Panhellenic centre and sanctuary, Olympia should not be perceived as the norm for ancient Greek sport. A much fuller understanding of the variety and vitality of Greek sport can be gained by looking beyond Olympia to study "local" or "civic" athletics. Studies of civic history and athletics enhance each other, and studies of sport in individual *poleis* can advance the understanding of Greek athletics overall, as well as the knowledge of the history of those states. Athens is an obvious choice for such a case study because of its wealth of documentation. Thus this historical study of Athenian athletics investigates the significance of athletics in Athenian life from the time of the earliest relevant sources down to 322 B.C.[1]

In histories of Athens athletics understandably have been overshadowed by literature, art and politics; but athletics, as part of the religious, social and even political life of Athens, affected and were affected by historical developments. Many issues arise. When and why did athletics on a civic basis appear and surpass private, aristocratic athletic activities? How was the athletic life of the city influenced by tyranny, military factors, urbanization, political changes and economic conditions? Where and why did athletes train and compete? Who organized and who participated in athletic facilities and contests? What roles did various individuals, families and socio-economic groups play? What motivated comments and criticisms by ancient authors? To what extent were civic athletics a factor in the urban development, topography and administration of Athens? Generalizations abound but no complete study has been done specifically on the history of Athenian athletics. Too often studies give a schematic survey of Greek athletics mixing Olympic history with Athenian vase-paintings and with literary efforts of the Roman era. Although Athens' main contributions to western civilization were in non-athletic areas, the importance of athletics in Athenian history deserves more appreciation.

This introduction will discuss the terminology, earlier scholarship, scope, organization and sources of the study, as well as giving a general historical

[1] All dates given are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

background for Greek athletics. The Greek word for "athlete" came from an Homeric root, ἄεθλος or ἆθλος, a general term for exertion, effort, contest, struggle or deed. Homer especially uses this in contexts of bodily performance or struggle.[2] In Pindar ἀθλητής—from the verb ἀθλεύειν, meaning "to undertake an accomplishment or deed," especially "to practice a skill or exercise"—refers to a person who competes physically in contests.[3] By the late fifth century, ἀθλητής suggests a recognizable group associated with physical training and competition for prizes.[4] With the rise and expansion of athletic festivals the Homeric idea had become more specific. Herein, "athletics" refers to the realm of activity related to the preparation and competition of persons for prizes at public contests in events requiring physical strength and skill. "Civic athletics" designates athletics with a significant degree of state involvement, such as in the official administration of contests, prizes and facilities. As civic athletics became increasingly formal and regular in the archaic and classical eras, the histories of Athens and its athletics became increasingly connected.

Athletics are related to but distinct from sport and physical education. "Sport" refers to activities engaged in for recreation and the pleasure of participation: "By derivation the word 'sport' covers every diversion by which a man disports or amuses himself in his leisure time; it is essentially the antithesis of work."[5] Sport can be competitive but there is less emphasis on preparation and prizes. "Physical education", similar to the Greek idea of γυμναστική, refers to the generalized instruction, especially of the young, by paid teachers aiming at the overall physical development of the body.[6] Greek athletics entailed competition for a prize, and participation was not necessarily recreational or enjoyable. Athletic events were not intended for the general development of the body (although that could be a result), and, at least in the early stages, schooling was not essential. This study will not deal in depth with recreational activities and games nor with the physical

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[2] G. Autenrieth, *An Homeric Dictionary*, trans. R. P. Keeps (London, 1960), s.v. ἄεθλος; H. Ebeling, ed., *Lexicon Homericum* (Hildesheim, 1963), 1:29; E. Reisch, s.v. Athletai, *PW* II 2 (1896), 2049-58; see the discussions in J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, ed. F. Brein, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1965-67), 1:11-18; and Thomas F. Scanlon, "The Vocabulary of Competition: *Agon* and *Aethlos*, Greek Terms for Contest," *Arete, The Journal of Sport Literature* 1 no. 1 (1983): 147-62. For example, Hom. *Od.* 8.100,160; *Il.* 24.734. At the Phaeacian games (*Od.* 8.97-233) Odysseus is insulted as no ἀθλητήρ (*Od.* 8.164).

[3] Pind. *Nem.* 5.49; 10.51; cf. similarly, Hdt. 5.22.

[4] For example, Eur. *Autolykos* frag. 282 (Nauck *TGF*) in Ath. 10.413c-f; Pl. *Statesman* 294d-e.

[5] H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London, 1972), 13.

[6] C. A. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education* (New York and London, 1929), 5-6. Other commendable discussions of Greek physical education include: U. Popplow, *Leibesübungen und Leibeserziehung in der griechischen Antike*, 2nd ed. (Schorndorf bei Stuttgart, 1972); H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (London, 1956), 165-86.

education of youths.[7] However, because they were so much a part of athletic festivals, equestrian competitions will be covered as well as gymnastic athletics.

In addition to (and largely because of) its focusing predominantly on Olympia, the study of ancient athletics until recently viewed early Greek athletics through a romantic haze. J. Jüthner, E.N. Gardiner and others depict Greek athletics as rising to brief glory and then suffering a long decline.[8] As soon as athletics become established, they are presented as in a process of deterioration toward Roman barbarism in the form of gladiators, professionalism and spectator sports. Athletics and festivals are said to have developed from aristocratic and spontaneous Homeric games into organized and increasingly non-aristocratic games in the sixth century. The period of roughly 510-440 is presented as the age of excellence in Greek athletics, followed by a period of decline (440-338) with professionalism and specialization. In response to this schema, H.W. Pleket charges that the history of athletics has suffered from an excess of antiquarianism plus a bias against professionalism[9], and this is to be avoided in attempting a treatment of Athens. Gardiner contends that Athens became utterly unathletic after the fifth century[10], but can such a simple pattern of decline be applied to Athens without considerable modification? Greece was never homogeneous and Athens prided herself on her individuality and leadership.[11] There is no need to assume that Athenian athletics conformed to a theoretical Greek norm.

The history of athletics requires an interdisciplinary approach in order to appreciate athletics in the context of ancient life from both the historical and technical viewpoints. The primary intention here is to treat historically the "what, when, where, who and why" of Athenian athletics and to show that

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[7] Female athletics, although not unknown, will not be discussed because of the limited evidence. For an introduction, see H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (Bloomington, 1964), 179-86; or Betty Spears, "A Perspective of the History of Women's Sport in Ancient Greece," *Journal of Sport History* 11 no. 2 (1984): 32-47. Concerning Attica, on the ritual contest in the Arkteia at Brauron, see L. Kahil, "L'Artémis de Brauron; Rites et Mystère," *AntK* 20 (1977): 86-98; and P. Perlman, "Plato *Laws* 833C-834D and the Bears of Brauron," *GRBS* 24 (1983): 115-30.

[8] For example, Jüthner-Brein, 1: 82-124; E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (London, 1930; reprint ed., Chicago, 1978), 99-116. Gardiner, *GASF*, 6, feels Greek athletics must be approached as a "history of decline." On traditional and recent approaches, see D.G. Kyle, "The Study of Greek Sport—A Survey," *EMC* 27 n.s. 2 (1983): 46-67.

[9] H.W. Pleket, "Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology," *Stadion* 1 (1975): 51. Also see David C. Young's recent and important work, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago, 1984); his Part One (7-103) provides a history of the Olympist myth of Greek amateurism from nineteenth-century roots and shows that elements of the myth can be traced to modern and unsatisfactory rather than ancient and reliable works.

[10] Gardiner, *GASF*, 235.

[11] Thuc. 2.37-41.

their history was related to the wider history of the city itself. The technical aspects of the performance of various events—the "how"—generally will be avoided. Excellent treatments of the mechanics of Greek athletics are readily available.[12] Athenians threw the javelin in the same manner as other Greeks, but this study still contends that the overall nature of athletics at Athens reflects and contributed to the distinctive nature of Athens as a *polis*. For practical reasons this study includes only as much general Athenian history as is relevant to the development and history of Athenian athletics. Geographically "Athens" will refer to the city and Attica, or the area encompassed by the Kleisthenic demes. Regional or demotic festivals and facilities will not be covered as the major focus is on the state program of athletics. Chronologically the main concentration is on the late Archaic and the Classical periods when civic athletics arise and evidence becomes substantial. The termination date of 322 marks the end of the Lamian War and the removal of Athenian political independence by a Macedonian occupation as the history of Greece and its athletics entered the Hellenistic era.

The organization of this study is thematic but largely chronological within each of six chapters. *Chapter One* examines evidence suggesting that aristocratic and probably funerary athletics long preceded civic athletics at Athens. Vase-paintings and literary sources testify to athletics at Athens in the seventh and possibly eighth centuries. Civic athletics became recognizable in the sixth-century climate of political strife when the reorganization of the Panathenaic festival around 566 included athletic contests. After 566 the Pisistratid tyranny dominated the next decades during which civic athletics became well established.

Chapter Two uses Panathenaic amphorae and other types of evidence to reveal the history, prizes and events of the Panathenaea. Other festivals including athletics also are discussed; for instance, the Epitaphia and Theseia recalled games at early funerals and hero cults. Literature, vase-paintings and other sources together give a general impression of Athenian athletic activities from the sixth to the fourth century, including various characteristic Athenian events such as chariot races and numerous torch races. A review of the evidence for individual events indicates the introduction and history of events in Athenian festivals and tries to explain changes in the Athenian athletic program. Through Chapter Two an overall impression emerges of an

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[12] The technical aspects of various events have attracted continued scholarship but these are not of primary concern here. As well as the efforts of Jüthner and Gardiner, good technical treatments can be found in Harris, *GAA*; R. Patrucco, *Lo sport nella Grecia antica* (Florence, 1972); J. Ebert, *Zum Pentathlon der Antike* (Berlin, 1972); and M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 146 (Meisenheim, 1982).

elaborate and diversified athletic program directed to the unity and benefit of the state. The games of Athens were a matter of celebration as well as competition, for the value of staging as well as winning contests did not escape the Athenians.

Chapter Three examines Athens' athletic facilities through their long history of development and expansion from the use of convenient shady and grassy areas to the building of architectural complexes. H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley suggest that the early Agora had athletic functions[13], and this idea can be supported and extended. The development of public facilities and the relationship between hoplite warfare and the rise of gymnasia deserve attention. *Palaestrae* existed inside and outside of the gymnasia, raising questions of definition and the issue of private versus public facilities. Why did Athens have three major gymnasia, and how did they compare with respect to location and function? How were they affected by tyrants, politicians and schools of philosophy? The stadium at Athens also grew from informal and simple origins into an architectural monument by the fourth century, and the hippodrome remains the least well known of the sites of competition. What historical forces helped or hindered the development of such facilities? What role did patronage and political aspirations play? In short, how does the history of the city correlate with that of its athletic facilities?

Chapter Four prosopographically examines Athenian athletes by analyzing catalogues of known and possible Athenian athletes. As well as at Olympia and Athens itself, Athenians competed in other Panhellenic and local games for which scattered references exist. Gardiner contends that in the sixth century sport was a great leveller of social distinctions until the aristocrats later withdrew to the more costly equestrian events,[14] but only a study of the individual athletes—their careers and family connections—can establish the social background of athletes at Athens. Research must test the idea of any popularization of athletics and the idea of social mobility or stratification in athletics. Is there evidence of civic or private patronage? Perhaps popularization entailed only the expanded use of public athletic facilities and the tribal participation of Athenians in festivals.

Chapter Five surveys comments and criticisms pertaining to athletics in Athenian sources. Athletic analogies and images were common in Greek historical and dramatic works as understandable references to an aspect of everyday life. Meanwhile, strong criticisms came from works by Euripides, Aristophanes and others for dramatic or political effect. Orators mentioned

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[13] H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Agora of Athens, the History, Shape and Uses of an Ancient City Center; The Athenian Agora* vol. XIV (Princeton, 1972), 121.

[14] Gardiner, *GASF*, 59-60.

athletics positively or negatively, often with reference to pederasty, according to the context of the speech. Plato and Aristotle discussed sport and the ideal civic role of athletics, usually working in a body/mind dualism and advocating a just balance. An evaluation of the athlete as soldier or citizen was often used to express theoretical points or personal feelings, hence passages must not be treated in isolation. The athletic caricature became a literary commonplace and generally did not coincide with public opinion or civic practices, but such comments are noteworthy as Athenian responses to athletics.

Behind the criticisms lay developments in ancient athletics not dissimilar to modern trends, and so professionalism and specialization are recurrent themes in the so-called decline of athletics. What was the significance of the rise of athletic training at Athens? Why did Athens honor its victors in various ways? Did Athens develop a group of professional athletes in the pre-Hellenistic era? Are not many criticisms of athletics simply reflections of a general aversion to the increase of specialization and excess in many areas? Ancient criticisms and modern assumptions deserve re-examination.

Chapter Six investigates the relationship between athletics and politics, especially political leadership, at Athens. Was athletic success, patronage or extravagance a consideration in the bids of ambitious men for political support? Did many athletes go on to civic careers? Political acts affecting athletics, the nature of events competed in, the social origins and ties of athletes, and the changing nature of athletics and politics in Athens are discussed.

Chapters One to *Six* all integrate a variety of historical sources for Greek athletics; these are more abundant than one might expect, but more problematic than one would like, especially concerning Athens.[15] Many studies prefer to use Hellenistic and later sources and examples because of the paucity and difficulty of sources for early athletics. They rely heavily on literary works dealing specifically with athletics, works by Philostratus, Galen and Lucian, but these are of limited value because of their lateness, technical approach, or imaginative content. By the time Athenian literary sources become numerous, athletics had long been a part of civic life and thus attracted little sustained literary attention.[16] While mythographers and poets

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[15] On the source problems, see Jüthner-Brein, 1:24-41; and Harris, *GAA*, 23-31. On the sources for Athenian history in general, see R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 1-33; and A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1956-80), 1:29-83.

[16] Harris, *GAA*, 28, comments on the paradox:

> If the body of Greek writing devoted specifically to athletics is small, the works of almost all Greek authors abound in sporadic references to the subject, and it is on the patient collection and examination of scattered passages that we must rely for our picture of Greek sporting life.

produced legendary accounts of the athletic activities of gods and heroes, prose authors tended to include anecdotes, analogies and asides, noting unusual men and events rather than recording normal athletic activity. Pindar is helpful in dealing with contemporary athletes and events, but he was a paid artist who also used embellishment and myth. Historians, especially Thucydides, say little directly about athletics but they provide background information. Herodotus contains significant anecdotes, and Xenophon is an invaluable source for equestrian matters. Atthidographers like Philochorus dealt with legendary origins of Athenian religious and political institutions, providing some insights; but they are imperfectly preserved via fragments in lexicographers and scholiasts who tend to argue aetiologically and can be misleading.[17] Though difficult to use, dramatists make some references to athletics, and Aristophanes took delight in commenting on the physical condition of the Athenians. Orators, most useful for specific biographical details, are notoriously unreliable on matters of law or personality. Philosophers reacted to contemporary situations but they must be used cautiously; generally they were more concerned with the goals of physical education than with the history of athletics. The peregrinations of Pausanias[18] have left a wealth of information about athletic sites and victors to supplement the ancient Olympic register.[19] Late sources such as Athenaeus and Plutarch offer a considerable amount of material but one must always consider their sources and moralistic or sensationalizing aims. Since no Athenian has left us a history of his city's athletics, this study must proceed through the collation and analysis of bits of information, keeping in mind the sources, context, date and intent of the authors.

For official and specific information, essential testimony comes from epigraphical sources including victor and prize lists, dedications and honorary decrees. Early dedicatory inscriptions, to use Raubitschek's phrase, are "almost the only original documents" of the sixth century;[20] but after 462 the publication of official documents on stone at Athens greatly increased. The Athenian democracy exhaustively kept records but unfortunately most inscriptions relevant to the Panathenaea and Theseia are too late for this study. Privately contracted inscriptions such as athletic dedications are valuable

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[17] These are most readily available through Jacoby, *FGrH* III B, F323a-329, with commentary III 6 (Suppl.), 1:1-598.

[18] For treatments of Pausanias, see J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 6 vols. (London, 1916); N.D. Papahatze, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ, 5 vols. (Athens, 1963-65); R.E. Wycherley, "Pausanias at Athens," *GRBS* 4 (1963): 151-75.

[19] On the sources and history of the register, see Jüthner, *Philostratos*, 60-70; J.P. Mahaffy, "On the Authenticity of the Olympic Register," *JHS* 2 (1881): 164-78; and *FGrH* III B (Comm.), 221-28.

[20] A.E. Raubitschek, ed., *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), 455.

but reflect only those who could afford to publicize their activities in this manner. Epigraphy is quite rich in prosopographical data but, of course, the survival of inscriptions—even in their normal fragmentary state—is a matter of chance.

Archaeological investigations have helped reveal the history of the physical settings of Athenian athletics, but remains prior to the fourth century are often limited and indefinite. Ceramic evidence and vase-paintings, especially the official Panathenaic amphorae, are informative. Non-official vase-paintings help illuminate the pre-literate era and give visual images of athletics, but these must be used cautiously because of the conventions of art.[21] Products of the plastic arts, from an historical rather than a technical or aesthetic viewpoint, reflect general interests but present difficulties of interpretation and dating. Furthermore, by the time that great Athenian sculpture, for instance, is being produced, literary and epigraphical evidence is available and more explicit. So valuable to students of athletic techniques and art history, artistic representations of athletics are of limited value to this study unless the pieces were inscribed, found in graves, or given as prizes.[22]

A look at modern scholarship shows that, although no work has come forth specifically on the history of Athenian athletics, a great deal has been written on ancient athletics, sport and physical education, as well as on ancient Athens. Such secondary works have provided important ground-work, general history, parallels and comparisons for the present study. The following comments on a few items of special relevance and help for the topic at hand.[23]

Building on the works of Jüthner and others, Gardiner gives a major synthesis of the evidence of varied sources, marred by the romanticism of exponents of the modern Olympic ideal such as Pierre Baron de Coubertin.[24] H.A. Harris has made contributions by tackling technical problems, incorporating recent discoveries, and—unlike Jüthner and Gardiner—treating equestrian events.[25] *The Olympic Games* by Finley and Pleket reflects two penetrating minds but aims at a general audience.[26]

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[21] H.A. Harris, "Athletics in Greek Art," *Publications of the Classical Association* 63 (1966): 25-26, points to the use of stock formulae and imaginary scenes in vase-painting: "The sculptors and painters were not aiming at producing factual evidence for our benefit; aesthetic considerations were always paramount."

[22] Gardiner, *AAW*, chap. 5, "Athletics and Art," 53-71, surveys the Greek artistic response to the rise of athletics, suggesting that athletics and art were connected by the gymnasium and nudity.

[23] For a valuable introduction to sources and scholarship on ancient sport in general, see Ingomar Weiler, *Der Sport bei den Völkern der alten Welt* (Darmstadt, 1981). For a recent and useful bibliography, see Thomas F. Scanlon, *Greek and Roman Athletics, A Bibliography* (Chicago, 1984).

[24] Gardiner, *GASF* and *AAW*; for a list of his numerous articles in *JHS*, see *AAW*, 239.

[25] Harris, *GAA* and *SGR*; for a bibliography, see H.A. Harris, *Greek Athletics and the Jews*, eds., I.M. Barton and A.J. Brothers (Cardiff, 1976), 7-9.

[26] M.I. Finley and H.W. Pleket, *The Olympic Games, the First Thousand Years* (London,

On Athenian festivals, a rich scholarly tradition extends from Mommsen to Deubner, and H.W. Parke and E. Simon, with some updating, have made the subject more approachable.[27] The corpus of Athenian vase-paintings is made accessible by handbooks such as those Beazley, Boardman and Webster.[28] Greek athletic art also has not been neglected.[29] Building on Judeich's foundation, the study of Athenian topography and monuments has been conducted enthusiastically of late, including Boersma's analysis and the publications of Travlos and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[30] Greek athletic facilities in general have been studied by Delorme, Glass and Zschietzschmann.[31]

M. Lämmer offers a concise historiographical introduction and bibliography on the epigraphic sources for athletics.[32] As well as the standard collections of inscriptions, the works of Raubitschek on dedications and Ebert on epigrams have been useful.[33] Moretti has produced both the definitive work on Olympic victors and a selection of Greek agonistic inscriptions.[34] Works by Kirchner and J.K. Davies form landmarks of Athenian prosopography.[35] The social significance of athletics has been made clearer

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1976). A good bibliographical survey appears in S.G. Miller's Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's *AAW*, pp. v-xii. N. Yalouris, ed., *The Eternal Olympics* (New Rochelle, 1979) provides excellent illustrations.

[27] August Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1898); Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932; reprint, Hildesheim, 1959); H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, 1977); E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, 1983).

[28] Beazley, *ABV* and *ARV*²; John Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York, 1974); *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Archaic Period* (London, 1975); T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972).

[29] W.W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art* (Washington, 1921); W.H.D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* (Cambridge, 1902; reprint, Hildesheim, 1976); Bernard Neutsch, *Der Sport im Bilde griechischer Kunst* (Willsbauch, 1949). Brian Legakis, "Athletic Contests in Archaic Greek Art," (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1977), examines Greek athletic events from the viewpoint of art and iconography.

[30] W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1935); J.S. Boersma, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (Groningen, 1971); John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971).

[31] Jean Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris, 1960); S.L. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium in Greek Architecture," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), unfortunately skims Athens, declaring a lack of sufficient remains and detailed reports; W. Zschietzschmann, *Wettkampf- und Übungsstätten in Griechenland*, vol. 1 *Das Stadion*, vol. 2 *Palästra-Gymnasion* (Schorndorf bei Stuttgart, 1960-61). R.E. Wycherley gives an excellent introduction to the Athenian facilities in his *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978), 219-36.

[32] Manfred Lämmer, *Die Bedeutung epigraphischer Zeugnisse für die Geschichte der griechischen Gymnastik und Agonistik* (Köln, 1968).

[33] Raubitschek, *DAA*; Joachim Ebert, *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (Berlin, 1972).

[34] Luigi Moretti, *Iscrizione agonistiche greche* (Rome, 1953); *Olympionikai* (Rome, 1957).

[35] J.E. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1901 and 1903); J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971).

by H. Buhmann, and B. Bilinski has taken a provocative approach.[36] Pleket offers scholarly and sensible opinions on athletics and Greek society.[37] His works should provide encouragement and direction for future studies.

Some discussion must set the scene for the origin and development of athletics at Athens, but the question of the origin of athletics (where athletics arose and why) goes too far back into prehistory to be answered conclusively.[38] Seeking the original stimulus for athletics, scholars have noted the natural tendency in humans, especially children, toward play and games, and also the survival-based respect for physical prowess (in hunting and fighting) in early societies.[39] Military considerations may be relevant since many early sports appear related to primitive warfare. One can appreciate the cathartic effect of athletics in providing an outlet for hostility other than war and death.[40]

Religion has been offered as an explanation for the rise of athletics; and, of course, the ancients themselves attributed the introduction of athletics to gods and heroes like Theseus and Herakles. Men with anthropomorphic divinities could believe that the gods enjoyed viewing games; furthermore, gatherings for religious purposes might appreciate the diversion or entertainment provided by athletics.[41] Cults of the dead and funeral games were connected to early athletics but the relationship is difficult to define.[42]

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[36] H. Buhmann, *Der Sieg in Olympia und in den anderen panhellenischen Spielen* (Munich, 1972); Bronislaw Bilinski, *L'agonistica sportiva nella Grecia antica* (Rome, 1959) and *Agoni ginnici* (Rome, 1979) (reviewed by H. W. Pleket in *Stadion* 5 (1979): 282-86).

[37] H. W. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," "Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports," *Mededelingen nederlands historisch Instituut te Rome* 36 (1974): 57-87.

[38] On ancient and modern theories of the origin of athletics, see Jüthner-Brein, 1:45-49; and J. Jüthner, *Philostratos, Über Gymnastik* (Leipzig, 1909), 187-228. The diversity of festivals and events at Athens (discussed below) may represent the diversity of developmental factors in early Greek athletics in general. Athletics possibly were related to funerary or initiatory rites, hero cults, festivals of unification, fertility or sacrifice, military influences and more. Origins need not be monocausal and lines of influence need not be direct.

[39] On the significance of the human love of play, see J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1963). On the practical character of athletics: Harris, *SGR*, 13-14; Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 11-16, sees the origins of athletics in the work of primitive man to survive.

[40] On the military origins of athletic events, see Jüthner, *Philostratos*, 196-200, 205-13, commenting on Philostr. *Gym.* 7.11. A. W. Gouldner, *The Hellenic World, A Sociological Analysis* (New York, 1965), 49, regards the Greek games as a substitute for, if not a sublimation of, war and fighting.

[41] F. M. Cornford, "The Origin of the Olympic Games," in Jane Harrison ed., *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, and Themis* (New Hyde Park, 1962), 212-60, sees vegetation magic lying behind athletics at early meetings. In an early study, H. J. Rose, "The Greek Agones," *Aberystwyth Studies* 3 (1922): 1-26, feels that athletics originally were a secular, natural development from the existence of early assemblies. He concludes that in historical times the *agon* was a common feature of hero cult and that games frequently accompanied funeral rites, but that the theory of the funerary origin of games cannot be applied universally.

[42] The earliest extensive account of Greek athletic activity, of course, is Homer's description of the funeral games for Patroclus, *Il.* 23.257-897. Tradition records at least 33 heroes for whom funeral games were held in prehistoric Greece. Such games are known from art and literary

Scholars often avoid the maze of theories by simply attributing athletics to an innate Greek spirit of agonism, the pursuit of honor and the love of competition.[43] In a warlike, possessive society moved by strong ideals of *arete*, honor and victory, athletics seem almost a natural development: athletics provided a means whereby men displayed and tested their prowess to the delight of their gods and visitors and in veneration of dead friends, leaders and heroes.

Athletics in modern western civilization can be traced directly to ancient Greece, but the original home of athletics remains uncertain. Considerations of Near Eastern and Egyptian origins are possible but a Minoan or Mycenaean source appears more plausible.[44] Research on Minoan sport has shown that Gardiner was wrong simply to dismiss the idea of Minoan athletics.[45] The archaeological evidence entails quandaries such as the significance of bull-leaping, but representations of boxers, including those on a fresco from Thera, suggest that at least boxing was known in the Minoan world of the second millenium.[46]

The question of Mycenaean athletics can be posed thus: to what degree were athletics in Homer Mycenaean practice or anachronistic attributions from the later world of the poet? Scholars are divided between seeing the Homeric games as suitable to the kingly, warrior class of Achilles, and rejecting the poems as proof of Mycenaean athletics because of the limited

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allusions including the depiction of games for Pelias on the chest of Kypselos at Olympia seen by Pausanias (5.17.5-11). See L. Malten, "Leichenspiel und Totenkult," *MDAI(R)* 38-39 (1923-24): 300-40 and L. E. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Literature, Art and Life," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1977).

[43] This agonistic spirit of the Greeks, first suggested by J. Burckhardt, is evident in Hippolochos' incitement of Glaukos always to be best and to excel over others (Hom. *Il.* 6.208 = 11.784). For a historical treatment, see Antony E. Raubitschek, "The Agonistic Spirit in Greek Culture," *AncW* 7 (1983): 3-7. I. Weiler, *Der Agon im Mythos* (Darmstadt, 1974) extensively studies the *agon* motif (musical and athletic) in Greek myth and legend, noting three forms (challenge, festival and marriage) and concluding that the Greeks were not unique in this respect, but that this was typical of early societies. For a study of the historico-ideological background to views on agonism, as well as a discussion of the modern European trend against exclusivism, see Weiler's "AIEN ARISTEUEIN. Ideologiekritische Bemerkungen zu einem vielzitierten Homerwort," *Stadion* 1 (1975): 200-227.

[44] See W. R. Ridington, "The Minoan-Mycenaean Background of Greek Athletics," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1935).

[45] Gardiner, *GASF*, 11 and *AAW*, 14. The Greeks themselves saw the athletic tradition as an importation from Crete: Pl. *Resp.* 5.452c; Arist. *Pol.* 2.10 (1271b); Paus. 5.8.1; Plut. *Lyc.* 4, *Thes.* 15.

[46] On Minoan sports, see B. J. Putnam, "Concepts of Sport in Minoan Art," (Ph.D. dissertation, California, 1967). On bull-leaping, see J. G. Younger, "Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Leaping," *AJA* 80 (1976): 125-37. Walter Graham, *The Palaces of Crete* (Princeton, 1962), 73-84, associates boxing with performances in the central courts of the palaces. The boxer fresco from Thera is illustrated in Yalouris, *Eternal Olympics*, pl. 6.

corroboration from archaeological evidence.[47] This debate will continue as long as men discuss "the Homeric question." Given the source problems involved, perhaps a suggestion of cross-influences between Crete and mainland Greece is best.

Homer and his audience were familiar with athletic activities, and the poet retrojected, or assumed, athletics as existing in the Mycenaean era. A few points will suffice on this well-worn topic.[48] Homer presents athletics as a normal diversion of the aristocratic warrior class; prizes were given as gifts to honor the dead and exalt the host. Rather than to reward or attract competitors, prizes perhaps began as a means to divide up the corpse's possessions.[49] The epic motif of funeral games has overshadowed other athletic notes in Homer.[50] For instance, the discus, javelin and archery were pastimes for Archilles' men and Penelope's suitors, and measures of distance were expressed in terms of discus or javelin throws.[51] Athletics also were found among the Phaeacians.[52] The lack of a specific Homeric reference to the Olympic Games is not sound evidence for dating the poems, but rather suggests the local nature of the early Olympic festival.[53] It has been suggested that Homeric athletics were generally spontaneous and aristocratic[54], but they were also widespread, well-known and governed by set procedures. Homer gives an eighth-century *terminus ante quem* for Greek athletics, but their level of advancement suggests a long period of development.[55] These Homeric activities, in the form of funeral games and aristo-

[47] Harris, *GAA*, 33, feels it is reasonably certain that Mycenaean Greeks enjoyed athletics, but Jüthner-Brein, 1 : 67, argues that Homer retrojected contemporary events onto the Mycenaeans. L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford, 1963), 116, found no solid evidence of Mycenaean athletics in his study of Linear B. L.E. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," *Stadion* 1 (1975) : 1-18, is open to the idea of Mycenaean sport but sees no archaeological evidence for a connection to funeral games (12, see further in her "Funeral Games in Greek Literature, Art and Life," 48-64). She rejects the idea that early (archaic) Greek funeral games were a deliberate imitation of epic practice; and she argues that Homer, seeing funeral games as part of his society, felt they were appropriate for his Achaean heroes.

[48] For various treatments, see Gardiner, *GASF*, 8-27, *AAW*, 18-21; Harris, *GAA*, 48-63; Patrucco, *Sport*, 13-27; M. M. Wilcock, "The Funeral Games of Patroclus," *BICS* 20 (1973): 1-11.

[49] Rose, "Greek Agones," 2-3.

[50] Other funeral games are mentioned in Homer: for Amarynceus, *Il.* 23.630-42; for Oedipus, *Il.* 23.679-80; and for Achilles, *Od.* 24.89-92; cf. athletics as entertainment for a guest at Thebes, *Il.* 4.387.

[51] Hom. *Il.* 2.774, *Od.* 4.625-27, 17.167-69; *Il.* 10.357, 15.358, 16.590. Homer uses athletic analogies often, comparing the capture of Dolon to a footrace (*Il.* 10.366) and the pursuit of Hector about Troy to a contest for a prize (*Il.* 22.159-66).

[52] Hom. *Od.* 8.97-233; see Matthew Dickie, "Phaeacian Athletes," in F. Cairns, ed., *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, Fourth Volume, 1983* (Liverpool, 1984), 237-76. The physical orientation of *arete* is clear in *Od.* 8.147-48.

[53] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.698-702, where Nestor mentions chariot races at Elis with tripods as prizes.

[54] Gardiner, *GASF*, 25.

[55] W. H. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," *TAPA* 72 (1941): 392-417.

cratic celebrations of guests, feasts and victories, can be termed "athletic" but they lack the integration with the life of the *polis* that would enable them to be called "civic".

The most famous year in the history of athletics, 776 is the traditional date for the founding of the historical Olympic Games, after which they continued for over a millenium.[56] Although funerary and informal games did not disappear with the Olympic development, the Greek athletic festival became the most suitable and renowned site of athletics. Opinions on the origins of the Greek athletic festival at Olympia range from fertility cult to funeral game to spontaneous emergence.[57] Somehow, Greek concerns with death, fertility and heroes developed into the veneration of Olympian Zeus through a set festival at this Panhellenic sanctuary.[58] Though not necessarily inherent, the association of athletics with religion was harmonious and lasting. At Olympia athletic contests came under religious supervision and took on religious overtones with sacred oaths, truces, prayers and dedications.

The explanation of the popularity of athletics and of the rise of local and Panhellenic festivals from the eighth to the sixth century is as complex as the early history of Greece itself.[59] The prestige of Olympia certainly was a factor, as was the spread of athletic stories via epic tradition. For almost two centuries Olympia was the only truly Panhellenic athletic festival; but Hesiod, writing ca. 700 not long after the traditional foundation date for the Olympic Games, mentions local athletic festivals as if a normal aspect of contemporary society.[60] The age of colonization spread Greek city-states

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[56] Sound and succinct introductions include: Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*; Ludwig Drees, *Olympia; Götter, Künstler und Athleten* (Stuttgart, 1967); H. Schoebel, *Olympia et ses jeux* (Leipzig, 1966); J. Ebert et al., eds., *Olympia von den Anfängen bis zu Coubertin* (Leipzig, 1980).

[57] The ancients themselves had various accounts of the rise of the Olympic athletic festival. The foundation was credited to Herakles, Pelops or Oxylos; and, after an age of neglect, a revival came through the actions of Lycurgus of Sparta, Iphitos of Elis or Kleisthenes of Pisa: Pind. *Ol.* 2.1-4; 10.29-59; Paus. 5.7; Strabo *Geog.* 8.3.30.

[58] Gardiner, *GASF*, 27-39, *AAW*, 31-32, sees no reason to discredit the ancient tradition of funerary origins for the Olympic Games; and K. Meuli, "Der Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele," *Antike* 17 (1941): 189-208, asserts strong connections between funerals and contests. L. Drees, *Der Ursprung der Olympischen Spiele* (Stuttgart, 1962), sees the festival to Zeus originating in a fertility cult with the olive wreath transferring life-giving properties from the tree to the victor. L. Deubner, *Kult und Spiel im alten Olympia* (Leipzig, 1936), 24, assigns the origin to a ritual dance of young girls to dispel evil spirits. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley, 1983 (1972)), 93-103, associates the Olympic festival with very early sacrificial rituals. For a survey of these and other scholarly views, see C. Ulf and I. Weiler, "Der Ursprung der antiken Olympischen Spiele in der Forschung. Versuch eines kritischen Kommentars," *Stadion* 6 (1980): 1-38.

[59] On the rise of the various Greek athletic festivals, see Gardiner, *GASF*, 62-85, *AAW*, 22-44; and I. C. Ringwood, "Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals," (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1927).

[60] Hes. *Theog.* 435-38.

afar, and ties to the mainland were both political and religious. Panhellenic festivals and the Greek love of athletics were regarded as unifying cultural factors.

Early Sparta incorporated physical training into its system of state education (*agoge* and Spartans won many victories at Olympia from 720 on. Sparta's success in athletics and in hoplite warfare was noted by other Greeks,[61] and the new style of warfare itself perhaps contributed to the popularity of athletics.[62] Greek tyrants patronized Olympia and influenced the operation of other games; Kleisthenes of Sikyon, for instance, was an Olympic champion and fostered the Sikyonian Pythia.[63] Such factors culminated in the sixth century as the great organizational age of Greek athletics, producing the *Periodos* or circuit of Panhellenic games.[64] This was an environment conducive to the rise of athletics at Athens, but the following will suggest that internal conditions there also played a major role in promoting a development toward civic athletics.

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[61] Thuc. 1.6 credits Sparta with the introduction of naked exercise and the use of oil; and Arist. *Pol.* 5.4 (1338b) comments on Sparta's success, training and discipline. On Sparta's record at Olympia, see N.B. Crowther, "Elis and the Games," *Ant. Class.* 57 (1980): 301-310.

[62] F.E. Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Berkeley, 1957), 3-5, feels that hoplite warfare required little training and was oppositional to expressions of personal distinction in athletic festivals. On Delorme's theory of the influence of military developments on athletics and facilities, see below, p. 64ff.

[63] Hdt. 6.126; Pind. *Nem.* 9.51; 10.43; M.F. McGregor, "Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals," *TAPA* 72 (1941): 266-87.

[64] Rose, "Greek Agones," 2-4, notes that the athletics of the Periodos, unlike those in Homer, had a definite association with a religious ceremony and shrine; they had symbolic prizes, and they recurred at regular intervals. The organizers were no longer private individuals but representatives of states or amphictyonies. For early but well-documented treatments of the *Periodos*, see J.H. Krause, *Die Pythien, Nemeen und Isthmien aus den Schrift- und Bildwerken des Altertums* (Leipzig, 1841), and Gardiner, *GASF*, 208-26.

CHAPTER ONE

THE RISE OF ATHLETICS AT ATHENS

Athletics involving a significant degree of organization can be studied first in mainland Greece of the Archaic Age.[1] From the eighth century onwards athletics spread and more Panhellenic and local festivals appeared. Arguably, the fame of Olympia, the emergence of the Periodos, tyranny and hoplite warfare, colonization, and the success of Sparta contributed to a Greek environment conducive to athletics and athletic festivals.[2] Yet Athens did not always conform in time or character to general Greek trends, and she cherished her distinctiveness. It is important to recognize that significant internal factors in sixth-century Athens also were influential in the shift of emphasis from typically Panhellenic, aristocratic Greek athletics toward the *polis*-oriented, civically operated, and distinctively Athenian athletics of the Panathenaea. In other words, theories of simple importation or competition with Olympia need to take into account the internal factors and evolutionary processes in Athenian sport itself.

With its tradition of autochthonism, Athens preferred to regard Panathenian athletics as the very ancient creation of early Athenian rulers,[3] but the idea of the athletic festival was probably the result of a long development from early funeral games. Such games possibly were the origin of athletics and they certainly formed an occasion for athletic *agones*. H.A. Thompson has suggested that Panathenaic civic athletics were a natural, internal development from funeral games and the cult of the heroized dead in Dark Age and early Archaic Athens:

> Once established such games are likely to have persisted. As the memory of the individual dead grew dim and as community consciousness developed, the games may well have formed the nucleus of a community festival in honor of the patron divinity, viz. Athena. As the festival grew and gymnastic events were added, these also would have been held in the same place.[4]

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[1] Harris, *SGR*, 15. On Homeric athletics (funeral games and aristocratic social diversions) and Olympic athletics (the rise of the religiously supervised, Panhellenic athletic festival), see Introduction above p. 11-13.

[2] L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece* (London, 1976), 79, 98; Parke, *Festivals*, 33-34. Gardiner, *GASF*, 82, suggests that Athens tried to rival Olympia. However, the evidence (Ath. 12.522a, c-d) concerns Sybaris, and the Panathenaea, unlike at Sybaris, was not held in an Olympic year.

[3] Athenian autochthonism: Thuc. 1.2; Dem. 19.261.

[4] H.A. Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," *Arch. Anz.* 76 (1961): 231. Gardiner, *GASF*, 27 and Hyde, *OVM*, 9-14, visualize a similar development for Greece in general from Homeric funeral games to hero cults to Panhellenic athletic festivals as part of the worship of the Olympian gods.

Along with Greek custom and Homeric example, the limited and difficult Athenian evidence suggests the existence of funeral games in Geometric Athens. Certainly funeral games of changing types were a persistent tradition in later Athenian history. Using sources such as Attic vase-paintings, archaeological finds, records of early victors, and later historical writings, this section will advance from Thompson's idea to examine the rise of athletics at Athens from the eighth century to the recognizable emergence of civic athletics around 566.

Early indications of athletics at Athens come from Attic Late Geometric pottery. Dating roughly to the eighth century, this style spans the periods of Homeric and Hesiodic references to funeral games and aristocratic athletics as well as the early decades of the Olympic Games. The existence of contemporary funeral games at Athens does seem likely; and the oldest inscription in the Greek alphabet, found on an eighth-century Attic vase, is agonistic though not athletic.[5]

That the eighth century also witnessed Panathenaic athletic games has been suggested by S. Benton. From her catalogue of representations of tripods (some with horses or birds) in Late Geometric Attic vase-paintings, she argued that early depictions of massed tripods referred to Homeric-style funeral games while later representations of single tripods were used as victory symbols.[6] In 1935 she concluded that the vase-paintings indicated organized games in Attica about the traditional date for the reorganization of Olympia, that vases with single tripods commemorated individual victories, that the prizes at first were tripods, and that the most important event was the chariot race.[7] Benton later lowered her dating to after 776 but added a new argument from the inclusion of birds in these Geometric vase-paintings, noting that all such birds were marsh birds and that many could be herons. On the basis of Homer's indication that herons were especially connected with Athena, she asserted that these vases were commemorative of victories

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[5] *IG* I² 919, L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961), 68, the oldest inscription from Attica, comes from a Dipylon oinochoe of ca. 740 from the Kerameikos cemetary. The vase was probably a prize for a victor in a dance contest; G. Pfohl, *Griechische Inschriften als Zeugnisse privaten und öffentlichen Lebens* (Munich, 1965), no. 1, pp. 9, 196; Merle K. Langdon, "The Dipylon Oinochoe Again," *AJA* 79 (1975): 139-40.

[6] S. Benton, "Evolution of the Tripod Lebes," *ABSA* 35 (1934/35): 74-130. Her catalogue, pp. 102-112, includes representations of massed tripods (nos. 1, 5, 9, 10); single tripods (nos. 2, 4, 6-8, 14-18); and tripods with horses (nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 14, 16-18).

[7] *Ibid.* 114. Tripods as prizes are mentioned in Hes. *Op.* 654-57; Hom. *Il.* 23.259; and Hdt. 1.144. On tripods as victor dedications, see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, 145-48, and Raubitschek, *DAA*, 337-46. However, since the other festivals in the *Periodos* were not reorganized until the sixth century, there is no need to assume games at Athens beyond the level of funeral events.

(suggested by the tripods) in early Panathenaic Games (suggested by the birds).[8]

Although attractive, Benton's theory neither proves nor explains a shift to Panathenaic Games in eighth-century Athens. As well as being common items, tripods were known as prizes in early games—funeral and otherwise. Their appearance on Geometric vases may have been purely decorative or they may have been common symbols of wealth or victory. Representations of birds are even more unspecific and open to multiple interpretations. Attic Geometric pottery often was decorated with scenes of chariots, horses and even boxers, perhaps in the context of funeral games.[9] The general consensus is that these vases—large, pedestalled kraters and belly-handled amphorae, especially the work of the Dipylon Painter—were funerary works. Most came from graves in the Dipylon or Kerameikos area, with some being found in the Agora.[10] It is uncertain how early a simple Athenian festival including athletics may date, but there is insufficient reason to abandon the standard interpretation of these possibly agonistic scenes as inspired by funeral games.[11]

In the seventh and early sixth centuries both the pottery and the *politeia* of

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[8] S. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," *ABSA* 67 (1972): 13-19; see p. 14 on Hom. *Il.* 10.274; Benton gives only three examples of birds on the same vases as tripods (nos. 4, 9 and 15 of her 1935 catalogue).

[9] J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London, 1968), gives examples of chariots and funerals on Attic Geometric works of ca. 760-700 (p. 30, no. 4; p. 32, no. 24; p. 40, no. 1), examples of chariots (p. 55, no. 1; p. 58, nos. 1, 4; p. 59, no. 15; p. 66, no. 6), and one example of a tripod and horses (p. 66, no. 12). Lynn E. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," *AJArch.* 85 (1981): 113-115 and "Funeral Games in Greek Literature, Art and Life," (Ph. D. dissertation, Pennsylvania, 1977), 118-40, using literary evidence and funerary prizes, accepts funeral games (held once by the family near the grave) as historical from the eighth century on; but she urges caution concerning the artistic evidence of Late Geometric vases, which she feels constitute an uncertain record of funeral contests. Numerous examples of late Geometric vases roughly contemporary with Homer, bearing scenes of athletics (mainly boxing, some wrestling and possibly running) and chariot races, exist and T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and Attic Geometric Vases," *BSA* 50 (1955): 38-50, has suggested that these Geometric depictions may be based on funeral games in epic. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," 114-15, counters that the scenes are taken from actual events rather than epic, and that they do not necessarily represent funeral games. Games were simply part of the culture and were held other than at funerals. Roller goes on (107-19 and "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," 113-70) to note numerous examples of depictions of the funeral games of Patroclus and Pelias in Attic vase-paintings (only from the sixth century on), which clearly show the familiarity of the idea of funeral games at Athens. R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), 19-22, in discussing Attic Late Geometric works, feels that their subjects were of a general, non-legendary character. However, attendance of chariots in battle scenes, contrary to contemporary military practice, shows that painters sometimes added an heroic flavor.

[10] Young, "Late Geometric Graves," 55-57, 65-71, 136-37, 172, 193-94, 218-25: Geometric vase chariot scenes (XII, 1; XIII, 1; B 80; C 108); terracotta chariots (XII, 24-25; C 185); and horse fragments (C 181-84) from the Agora. He feels that such scenes were funerary and that chariot races probably were a regular feature of funeral games at Athens.

[11] Cf. D.C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, 1971), 60-61, 202-03.

Athens developed significantly. This was also the time of the poorly documented development toward civic athletics. The source problems for the period involve such historiographic hydras as the attempted tyranny of Kylon and the *nomothesia* of Solon. In ceramic terms this era included the transitional Protoattic of ca. 700-610, between the Late Geometric and Black-Figure styles.[12] Under orientalizing influence, vase-painting showed an increased interest in humans and animals. Scenes of chariots, wrestlers, horses and processions testify to a growing familiarity with athletics and a tendency to attribute athletics to gods and heroes.[13] According to Thompson's theory, Athenian athletics through the seventh century should have developed from funeral games to hero cults and thence, with increasing civic consciousness, toward civic athletics.[14] There is some evidence for cults of the heroized dead at Athens from votives and the reverence of early graves,[15] and a parallel development of athletics in association with hero cults has been suggested for Corinth.[16] Despite the uncertainty of the physical evidence and the lack of contemporary literary sources for Athens, the idea of a slow transition from spontaneous and sporadic funeral games to recurrent, more organized funeral or hero cults remains attractive.[17]

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[12] R.M. Cook discusses the chronology and workshops of Protoattic pottery in *Greek Painted Pottery*, 65-73.

[13] Works by the Protoattic Kynosarges Painter are discussed by Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," *ABSA* 35 (1934/35): 195-98 and Brann, *Agora VIII*, 24-25, and include a polychrome Middle Protoattic amphora with depictions of wrestlers and a charioteer (*Agora VIII*, no. 564; *CVA* Athens 2, III He, p. 4, pl. 3). For chariot scenes on Protoattic vases, see *Agora VIII*, no. 301 and Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," 173.

[14] J. Coldstream, "Hero-Cults in the Age of Homer," *JHS* 96 (1976): 8-17, attributes a large variety of hero cults to Attica (including Erechtheus and Akademos) of 750-650 because of the continuity of the people and the abrupt change in tomb types combined with the influence of epic tradition.

[15] Two votive deposits from the Agora contain seventh-century items appropriate to cults of the heroized dead: terracotta representations of chariot groups and horsemen, miniature terracotta shields and pinakes, and a miniature bronze tripod. See D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Deposit," *Hesp.* 2 (1933): 542-640, and H.A. Thompson, "A Favissa in the North Central Part of the Agora," *Hesp.* 27 (1958): 148-53. Also see Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 119-21. The apsidal structure wherein the votives were found may have been a house, according to Burr, or a temenos open to the sky, according to H.A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 37 (1968): 58-60. Merle K. Langdon, "A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos," *Hesp.* Suppl. 16 (1976): 25, no. 54, fig. 10, pl. 7, feels that an early seventh-century graffito from the sanctuary may contain a version of ξυνασκέω, "train" or "exercise." This is admittedly weak testimony, but the findspot was a votive dump and the inscription may suggest athletics in Attica.

[16] O. Broneer, "Hero-Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesp.* 11 (1942): 128-61, argues from votives, myths and wheel ruts for hero cult-related athletics at Corinth.

[17] Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," 98-105, rejects the idea that games in honor of heroes originated as athletic contests held at private funerals at Athens or Corinth. She feels that the evidence is too uncertain: the references may simply be to warriors and equestrian items may simply connote aristocratic status. "The terracotta votives from Athens and Corinth do not show that private funerary contests were connected with civic athletic festivals, for it is uncertain whether or not these objects actually represent athletics, and

Although critical of Thompson's theory, Lynn E. Roller has argued that funeral games (held by private families near the grave with valuable prizes as part of the burial ritual for a historical individual rather than as part of a hero cult) were held in Attica in the seventh and sixth centuries. She suggests that such games had aristocratic overtones and perhaps were limited to a few aristocratic families.[18] Her evidence consists of three marble discuses from the late sixth century found in Attica, interpreted as prizes for funeral games in Attica because their inscriptions include the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἠρίων—"from the funeral mounds."[19] Roller also argues, from four bronze lebetes from the Acropolis with inscriptions dating from the early to the late seventh century suggesting that they were prizes from funeral games, that Athenians (names unknown) travelled to other private funeral games (here to Boeotia), perhaps drawn by such valuable prizes.[20] Roller suggests that such early private games in Attica and Greece were superseded in the fifth century by civic athletic festivals, which were properly related to hero cults (with the idea of origins in funeral games being pushed onto such festivals improperly by literary sources).[21]

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they seem in any case to have been offered at hero cults and not at private graves." (104) "Moreover, there was no tradition which connected the Panathenaia with funeral games which formed part of a hero cult." (99-100) Roller, however, is open (180) to an early simpler version of the Panathenaea, perhaps controlled by a local clan, with the *apobates* race perhaps being recorded in some Geometric scenes.

[18] Lynn E. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," *Stadion* 7 (1981): 1-18, especially 3-5; and "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," especially 6-46.

[19] Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 3-5. Paul Jacobstahl, *Diskoi* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1933), 18 nos. 1, 2; 19 no. 4, also sees these as athletes' discuses awarded to their owners as prizes at funeral games. Also see Jacobstahl's 19 no. 3, a poros discus from the Attic deme of Oa. Roller's date of the late sixth century is from Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 66. L. H. Jeffery, "The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica," *BSA* 64 (1962): 147, sees them as possible grave markers (cf. two sixth-century grave markers: 147 no. 64 of ca. 525 for Gnathon, and 147 no. 66 of the late sixth century for the Attic physician Aineas). H. R. Immerwahr, "An Inscribed Terracotta Ball in Boston," *GRBS* 8 (1967): 263-64, accepts the discuses as prizes from Attic funeral games and discusses a ball of ca. 500 with athletic scenes and a graffito with the same phrase. "We may assume, then, that athletic contests, no doubt of a private nature, took place in Attica around the turn of the century at family tombs, where ancestors were worshipped as heroes." (264) He feels such games perhaps are illustrated on a red-figure vase of the early fifth century (*ARV*[1] 188 no. 59, not in *ARV*[2]) on which a bearded warrior rises up out of a mound against which athletic equipment is leaning.

[20] Four inscribed bronze vessels from the Acropolis: 1) Roller, *Stadion*, no. 2; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 94 no. 3a; A. G. Bather, "Bronze Fragments from the Acropolis," *JHS* 13 (1892-93): 129 no. 63; *IG* I^2 401; early seventh century; 2) Roller, *Stadion*, no. 3; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 94 no. 3b; Bather, "Fragments," 129 no. 62; *IG* I^2 406; late seventh century; 3) Roller, *Stadion*, no. 4; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 94 no. 3c; Bather, "Fragments," 129-29 no. 64 a and b; *IG* I^2 402, 403; late seventh century; 4) Roller, *Stadion*, no. 5; Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 94 no. 3e; Bather, "Fragments," 129 nos. 58-59; *IG* I^2 405; end of the seventh century. Other examples offered by Jeffery, 91-94, are rejected by Roller for want of a definite funerary tie.

[21] Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 12: "In the earliest examples the contests were occasional events, one (*sic*) which brought aristocratic competitors together to honor the dead and show off their skills. The games held as part of a civic festival stressed

Important facts of relevance to seventh and early sixth-century (pre-566) Athenian athletics come from records of ancient athletic victors. The earliest and one of the most significant dates in the history of Athenian athletics is 696, the year Athens gained its first Olympic victory when Pantakles won the *stadion*. The same man won both the *stadion* and *diaulos* in the next Olympic Games of 692. Other pre-566 Olympic victors from Athens include Eurybates (*stadion*, 672); Stomas (*stadion*, 644); Phrynon (*pankration*, 636); and Alkmeon (chariot, 592).[22] By men acting privately but still regarded as representatives of Athens, these victories show that the fame of Olympia had grown to reach Athens and that Athenians were actively competing. Probably these men were aristocrats with aristocratic motives, but their victories attest an increasing familiarity with, and practice of, athletics by Athenians.

The most infamous seventh-century Athenian athlete, of course, is Kylon. The son-in-law of Theagenes the tyrant of Megara, Kylon, after his Olympic success of 640, attempted to establish a tyranny at Athens in an Olympic year usually thought to be 632.[23] In the "Kylonian affair" the people of Athens resisted, Kylon fled, and his followers were murdered. Kylon had received an oracle telling him to seize the Athenian Acropolis "on the greatest festival of Zeus". Misinterpreting this, Kylon seized the Acropolis at the time of the Olympic rather than the Athenian festival (probably the Diasia), thinking that the occasion was fitting for himself as he had been an Olympic victor (ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι).[24] Apparently Kylon placed great store in his fame as an athlete, and expected the Athenians to be more receptive because of his Olympic victory. At any rate, it seems likely that the Athenians were athletically aware and attentive, and the victory itself indicates that Kylon practised his event at Athens—and probably not alone.

Another famous and relevant incident involves the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Himself an Olympic victor in the chariot race, Kleisthenes staged a year-long reception in Sikyon for the best youths of Greece who sought the hand of his daughter, Agariste.[25] From the account in Herodotus,

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the cohesion of a community honoring a local hero." On state involvement in the Genesia and Epitaphia, see below p. 41 ff.

[22] On these victors, see Appendix B.

[23] Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126.3-5; Paus. 1.28.1; Plut. *Sol.* 12. On the date, see R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City-States ca. 700-338 B.C.* (Berkeley, 1978), 98-99 and note 5, 105-06.

[24] Thuc. 1.126.5; J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley, 1978), 68, Q64.

[25] Hdt. 6.126-30. Kleisthenes' Olympic chariot win of 576 or 572 (Moretti, *Olym.* no. 96) followed a victory at the Pythia in 582 (Paus. 10.7.6); see N.G.L. Hammond, "The Family of Orthagoras," *CQ* n.s. 6 (1956): 44-53. The date of the suitor contest was approximately 570; cf. T.J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *JHS* 68 (1948): 104, n. 5.

it seems that the tyrant built a rudimentary athletic facility for the youths' diversion and he also made the younger suitors contend athletically.[26] The youths included two Athenian aristocrats: Hippokleides, the Philiad, "the wealthiest and best looking man in Athens," later archon in 566; and Megakles, grandson of the archon at the time of the Kylonian affair and eventually the victorious suitor. The anecdote shows that Athenian noble youths, like Kylon earlier, were adept athletically and participated in the interstate world of foreign marriages and athletic competitions.[27]

Such incidents, the appearance of Olympic victors from Athens, and the increasing number of vase-paintings depicting athletics, reveal a growing interest and familiarity with athletics at Athens. Hero cults developing from the traditions of funeral games may have been influential, and aristocratic ambitions and external *agones* were possible factors. Evidence down to the early sixth century suggests the existence of Athenian athletics and proves that Athenians competed at Olympia. In other words, to this point Athens demonstrably had athletes and aristocratic athletics but not "civic athletics."[28]

For early sixth-century Athens the significance of Solon, the archon of 594/3, is both crucial and complicated, and he also seems to have responded to the rise of athletics.[29] Ongoing debates over the date and nature of his acts cannot be resolved here. In very general terms, Athens faced a social and economic crisis, with oppressed and discontented lower classes, and with political turmoil produced by regionalism, economic forces, clan rivalries or differing political inclinations. The body politic was composed of a narrow group of baronial families, and the threat of tyranny already had been shown by the Kylonian affair. Apparently a widespread appreciation of the dangerous potential of the situation led to the granting of plenipotentiary powers to Solon with the intention of establishing *eunomia*. Solon's poems indicate his opposition to greed and oppression, but he was not a revolutionary and in many respects he simply codified laws according to earlier customs. However, the act of codification, along with the realignment of political rights in terms of economic classes, was of monumental significance. Thereafter power

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[26] Hdt. 6.126-28. Hdt. 6.130 also records that Kleisthenes rewarded each suitor with a talent of silver at the end of the year. It is quite likely that similar agonistic receptions took place at Athens in this era.

[27] Elsewhere, note the marriage of the physician Demokedes of Croton to the daughter of Milo, the famous wrestler and general (Hdt. 3.129-38).

[28] The tradition that an Athenian archon in the fourteenth or fifteenth Olympiad decreed that athletes compete naked (Isidorus of Seville *Etym.* 18.17.2; Homer *Scholia B* (Bekker) and Homer Townley *Scholia* on *Il.* 23.683) is late and unreliable. See Waldo E. Sweet, "Protection of the Genitals in Greek Athletics," *AncW* 11 (1985): 43-45.

[29] On Solon's laws, see E. Ruschenbusch, "Solonos Nomoi," *Historia* Einzelschriften 9 (1966). For a full discussion of my arguments on Solon, see D. G. Kyle, "Solon and Athletics," *AncW* 19 (1984): 91-105.

and political allegiances could begin to shift from aristocratic clans to the state itself; men could refer to a civic law code and develop a civic political consciousness. The Athenian state had to mature via the Solonian reforms before festivals and athletics at Athens could become truly "civic".

In later tradition Solon's fame as a lawgiver and a sage grew; and his acts were confused through unfounded attributions and through the influence of biographical and rhetorical motifs, such as the intellectual criticism of athletes, the reverence of lawmakers and sages, and the *patrios politeia* theme. Suggestions of Solonian laws regarding gymnasia and *palaestrae* receive insufficient corroboration from the evidence for Athenian athletic facilities.[30] Yet Solon probably did codify a law granting rewards for Athenian athletes: 500 drachmas for an Olympic victor and 100 for an Isthmian. In other words, Solon officially established valuable rewards for Athenian victors in games at Olympia and Isthmia before someone (Pisistratus?) officially established prizes for victors in the games at Athens. His motivation cannot be determined with certainty but it is unlikely that he wanted to democratize athletics, discourage aristocratic charioteering, or limit athleticism—as have been suggested.[31] Given the overall nature of Solon's acts, it seems reasonable that he simply wanted to assert the legal authority of the state and to promote harmony in one more aspect of Athenian life. Other evidence has shown that Athens had athletes and athletics of a probably aristocratic and private nature. This could have been one more potentially disruptive activity that Solon would want to control and direct to the good of the state. Solon's action was a civic response to athletics: the amount of the award was less important than the official, civic nature of the honor. Athletic festivals were being organized elsewhere at this time but Athens was still too politically unstable and disunified. Solon's reforms—including the legislation of athletic rewards and possibly morality laws relevant to athletic activity—laid the groundwork for civic consciousness and civic unity. Solon's *seisachtheia* and *nomothesia* helped Athens advance as a *polis* to a stage where, a few years later and probably with Pisistratid influence, the state could develop its own system of civic athletics and increasingly direct athletic energies to the glory of Athens.

It seems likely that some form of Panathenaic festival including games existed at Athens before 566 but this has not been proven conclusively. S. Karouzou has suggested that an early black-figure amphora from Athens is a "proto-Panathenaic" prize amphora from such a festival.[32] This single

[30] For example, Dem. 24.114; Aeschin. *In Tim.* 1-10,12. On the state of Athenian athletic facilities in the early sixth century, see Part III below.

[31] Plut. *Sol.* 23.3; Diog. Laert. 1.55; Diod. Sic. 9.2.5. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 62-63; Buhman, *Sieg*, 106; and Young, *Olympic Myth*, 128-31, all accept the Solonian tradition of rewards.

[32] S. Karouzou, "A Proto-Panathenaic Amphora," *AJArch.* 42 (1938): 495-505, figs. 2, 10. The vase (Nat. Mus. 559) is classified by Beazley, *ABV*, 85 no. 1, simply as a "neck amphora."

amphora has a flute player with a goose and listeners on the observe, with a horse, horseman and man in front on the reverse. She interprets the scenes as depictions of the mythical flute player Olympos—a possible reference to a flute contest at the Pythia or Panathenaea—and on the reverse a jockey and *hippokomos* or stableman—a possible reference to victory in a horse race. Shape and style date the vase to ca. 570 and place it as a possible immediate precursor of the Panathenaic prize amphorae. Karouzou argues that the idea of giving amphorae to Panathenaic victors dates at least to the third decade of the sixth century, and that this is a proto-Panathenaic amphora referring to musical contests and horse races in an early pre-566 Panathenaea prior to the introduction of gymnastic events. Although this vase is similar to the Panathenaics, there need not be anything specifically Panathenaic about this form prior to 566; and nothing in the vase's decoration definitely refers to the Panathenaea.[33] Furthermore, the aulete is seen as the legendary Olympos rather than a competitor, so the horseman too may be legendary and non-competitive. The idea of pre-566 Panathenaic games is not unreasonable or unappealing, but an argument from ceramic evidence would be stronger if based on a group rather than a single vase.

A possible group of "proto-Panathenaics" may be the black-figure "Horse-Head Amphorae." These are Attic belly, panel amphorae with a horse's head on either rectangular panel and with the rest of the vase black. The head is in profile to the right and wears a simple halter. Over a hundred such vases and fragments are known.[34] Beazley dates them to not later than 550 and A. Birchall likewise places them in the first half of the sixth century. These decorations presumably had some special significance and, since some of the vases were exported, it is unlikely that they were funerary. The series is brief, and the style barely develops, supporting the idea that these may be pre-566 Panathenaic prizes and precursors of the canonical Panathenaics discussed below.[35] This is a tempting suggestion since a pre-566 Panathenaea probably would have had horse races and possibly would have had prize amphorae. Accordingly the reorganization of 566 would mean the introduction of civic administration and the reinforcement of the association with Athena. However, before the appearance of the official inscriptions on the later Panathenaics, one can only say that the horse-head group supports the argument for "proto-Panathenaics" better than the lone Olympos amphora. Civic athletics and civic athletic prize amphorae cannot be identified

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[33] J.A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaea," *JHS* 78 (1958): 27-28; likewise K. Peters, "Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren" (Ph.D. dissertation, Köln, 1941), 13.

[34] For complete catalogues and stylistic analysis, see A. Birchall, "Attic Horse-Head Amphorae," *JHS* 92 (1972): 46-63; and M.G. Picozzi, "Anfore attiche a protome equina," *Studi Miscellani* 18 (1971): 5-64.

[35] Boardman, *Black Figure*, 18; Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 14-15.

with certainty prior to the reorganization of the Panathenaea generally dated to 566.

H. A. Thompson offers further perceptive comments on the Panathenaea:

> Of all the many festivals of Athens none was so closely linked as the Panathenaea with the history of the city. Tradition related the name of the festival to the unification of Attica under Theseus. Expanded and systematized by the Pisistratids, the Panathenaea became one of the principal manifestations of the growing national consciousness and cultural maturity of Athens in the second half of the sixth century.[36]

Historically, civic athletics began with the advancement of the Panathenaic Games in the sixth century and thereafter athletics and the Panathenaea were both intimately involved with the civic consciousness and life of Athens.

The Panathenaea, in some form, probably was one of the early festivals of Athens;[37] and Harpocration records that there were two forms of the festival, perhaps originally called the Athenaia:

> ... διττὰ Παναθήναια ἤγετο Ἀθήνησι, τὰ μὲν καθ᾽ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, τὰ δὲ διὰ πενταετηρίδος, ἅπερ καὶ μεγάλα ἐκάλουν· Ἰσοκράτης Παναθηναϊκῷ (12.17). ἤγαγε δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν πρῶτος Ἐριχθόνιος ὁ Ἡφαίστου, καθά φησιν Ἑλλάνικός (*FGrH* 323a F2) τε καὶ Ἀνδροτίων (324 F2), ἑκάτερος ἐν ᾱ Ατθίδος. πρὸ τούτου δὲ Ἀθηναῖα ἐκαλεῖτο, ὡς δεδήλωκεν Ἴστρος ἐν γ̄ τῶν Ἀττικῶν (334 F4).[38]

The origin of the Panathenaea thus is attributed in legend to two figures. In what Davison calls the "sacral version," Erichthonios founded the Panathenaea to commemorate Athena's part in the war against the Giants.[39] According to the "political version," best known from Plutarch, the national hero Theseus called his newly unified city Athens and established the Panathenaea as a common sacrifice.[40] Reconciling the two accounts by combina-

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[36] Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 224. On the Panathenaea: Parke, *Festivals*, 33-50; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 22-35; Gardiner, *GASF*, 229-41; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival;" Davison, "Panathenaea;" Simon, *Festivals*, 55-72; L. Ziehen, s.v. Panathenaia, *PW* XVIII 3 (1949), 457-93.

[37] W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley, 1983), 154-58, sees the Panathenaea as a festival of "reestablishment" fulfilling earlier festivals of dissolution such as the Arrephoria, all of these deriving from very early sacrificial rituals. Cf. Simon, *Festivals*, 55, 106-107, who sees the earliest form of the Panathenaea as a typical Bronze Age festival to Athena as a palace goddess. The oldest reference to an Athenian festival to Athena, however, comes from Hom. *Il.* 2.550-51. This may refer to the annual or Lesser Panathenaea, but the passage comes from the questionably reliable Catalogue of Ships. See Denys Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959, fourth printing, 1972), 145-57.

[38] Harpocration s.v. Παναθήναια, citing Isoc. 12.17; Hellanicus, *FGrH* 323a F2; Androtion, *FGrH* 324 F2; and Istros, *FGrH* 334 F4.

[39] See Davison, "Panathenaea," 24-25 on the two accounts. Marm. Par. A10, lines 17-18 places the establishment of the Panathenaea by Erichthonios some 729 or 730 years before the first Olympiad; Apollod. 3.14.6; Aelius Aristides 13.189.4-5 sees the Panathenaea as the oldest Greek festival, perhaps second only to the Eleusinia.

[40] Plut. *Thes.* 24.3; Paus. 8.2.1; cf. Thuc. 2.15 and H.T. Wade-Gery, "Eupatridai, Archons and Areopagus," *CQ* 25 (1931): 1-11, 77-89, reprinted in his *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, 1958), 86-115.

tion, a Platonic scholiast suggests that Erichthonios created the Panathenaea, but that Theseus, after the unification of Attica, established the Greater Panathenaea to be held every fourth year.[41] The legends may have been manipulated for political reasons but we cannot be sure.[42] Probably the Panathenaea as the festival of Attica developed from a smaller, more localized festival, and the attribution of the festival to a national hero seems quite natural.

A festival day and the presentation of a *peplos* to Athena apparently existed from the seventh century and perhaps earlier,[43] but when did civic athletics become an element of the official Panathenaea? Eusebius' *Chronicon*, in Jerome's Latin version, under *Ol.* 53.3-4 (566/5 B.C.) reads: *Agon gymnicus quem Panathenaeon vocant, actus.*[44] This late and problematic source gives an absolute date but does not mention the name of the archon. A further note comes from an obscure source (Marcellinus *Vit. Thuc.* 2-4), which assigns the establishment of the Panathenaea to the archonship of Hippokleides.[45] This Hippokleides apparently was the same man as the unsuccessful suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Genealogies and late chronographical sources are not very reliable, but the archonship of Hippokleides probably dates to 566/5.[46] Other festivals with athletic events may have had precursors predating 566 but there is no sound proof of earlier civic athletics. Hence the approximate date of 566 generally has been accepted for the introduction of athletic events as part of the Panathenaic festival[47] and

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[41] Schol. on *Prm.* 127a, Παναθήναια] ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴ καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ἐτέθη μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἐριχθονίου· τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Θησέως συναγαγόντος τοὺς δήμους εἰς ἄστυ. ἄγεται δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν.

[42] See Roscher, *Lex.* s.v. Theseus, 5 (1924): 678-760; and W. den Boer, "Theseus and the Growth of Myth in History," *G&R* 16 (1969): 1-13. On the development and significance of the myth of Theseus at Athens, including athletic aspects of Theseus as *ephebos*, wrestler and founder of games, see A.G. Ward, ed., *The Quest for Theseus* (New York, 1970), especially Ruth B. Edwards, "The Growth of the Legend," 25-50 and W.R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens," 143-74.

[43] Parke, *Festivals*, 33.

[44] Eusebius *Chronica*, Armenian version ed. and trans. J. Karst, *Eusebius' Werke* VII: 102a-b; Cadoux, "Athenian Archons," T112.

[45] Marcellin. *Vit. Thuc.* 2-4 citing Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F2; Cadoux, "Athenian Archons," T4, τοῦ δὲ Ἱπποκλείδης, ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος <ἐν Ἀθήναις> Παναθήναια ἐτέθη·

[46] Cadoux, "Athenian Archons," 104; Davison, "Panathenaea," 26-29; also Davies, *APF*, 8429 II.

[47] Davison, "Panathenaea," 27, concludes:

> ... the athletic "meeting" at the Panathenaea was first made official in "566"—the inverted commas being meant as a symbol of our uncertainty about the manner in which this dating has been arrived at. It is probable that both the equestrian "meeting" and the musical "festival" (both legitimate modern translations of ἀγών, considered as a series of contests for prizes) were made official at the same time; and if that is so the date "566" can properly be used as a *terminus post quem* for the making of the earliest true Panathenaic amphorae.

for the related introduction of a new variety of ceramic evidence—the Panathenaic prize amphora (discussed below). The earliest surviving example of such a vase, the Burgon amphora, conventionally is dated stylistically—but not absolutely—to 566.

Inscriptional records from the Athenian Acropolis offer some evidence for the introduction of civic athletics. Three stelai inscribed in similar lettering are published by Raubitschek and restored by comparison with one another.[48]

DAA no. 326

> [Τὸ]ν δρόμον [⁝ ἐποίεσαν : ---ca. 11]
> [---ca. 9 ⁝ Κρ]άτες [⁝ Θρασ]υκλε͂ς ⁝ 'Α[ρ]ισ
> τόδικος ⁝ Βρ[ύσον ⁝] 'Αντέ[νορ : ---ca. 7]
> [hιροποιοὶ τὸν ἀ]γο͂[να θέσ]αν προ͂το[ι] γλ|αυ[κ]όπιδι ⁝
> κόρ[ει].
> On the back : [---] | Κινεσίας.

DAA no. 327

> Τὸν δ[ρ]όμον ⁝ ἐπ[οίεσαν]
> Τ|---ca. 8 Δεχσ]ίθεο
> [ς---ca. 6---ca. 7 Με]λ
> εσ[ίας---ca. 7---ca. 5]
> [---ca. 4 hοῖς --ca. 5-ί]ας ἐ
> γρα[μάτευε---]
> [hιροπο]ιοὶ τὸν ἀγο͂να θẹσαν γλ[α|υ]κόπιδ[ι] κόρ[ει].

DAA no. 328

> [Τὸν δρόμον ἐποίεσαν]
> τε͂ι θε[ο͂ι hοι hιεροποιοὶ]
> [hοῖς ---ca. 7 ἐγ]ραμάτε
> υε ⁝ Φαιδρί[ο].

All three appear to begin with τὸν δρόμον ἐποίεσαν τε͂ι θεο͂ι; in nos. 325 and 327 a list of names follows; and nos. 327 and 328 also include a secretary. The restoration of the last line of no. 326 is heavily dependent on the last line of no. 327; and no. 328, a briefer inscription, lacks the final line as well as any list of names.

Unfortunately the two most important words here—*dromos* and *agon*—are vague and general terms. Raubitschek's interpretation is that *agon* is used for the assembly at the national games and that this can only be the Great Panathenaea.[49] Noting that nos. 326 and 327 distinguish between *agon* and *dromos*, he feels that *dromos* refers to the gymnastic contest or more

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[48] Raubitschek, *DAA*, nos. 326-28. *IG* I^2 817 is a similar inscription from Eleusis.

[49] References to γλαικόπιδι κόρει and τε͂ι θεο͂ι support an association with Athena and thus the Panathenaea.

generally the races in the festival. Accordingly, *agon* would refer to the sacred ceremonies performed in honor of Athena while, more specifically, *dromos* would refer to the races (or may be translated simply as "Games").[50] John Travlos has disagreed with this interpretation of *dromos*, arguing that the inscriptions refer to the construction and repair of the Panathenaic race-course, which he sites in the Agora.[51] Neither interpretation is conclusive.

Raubitschek dates no. 326 to the year of Hippokleides' archonship and the introduction of the Panathenaic Games because of the occurrence of πρõτο[ι]. He feels that the inscription records that eight men had charge of the performance of the *dromos* (race), and, on the basis of no. 327, that it is likely that the same men also organized the whole festival (*agon*). He concludes that no. 326 can be dated definitely to 566 and contains the official record of the establishment of the Great Panathenaea. He suggests that no. 327 is certainly later than no. 326, possibly from 562 or 558. Furthermore, nos. 327 and 328 show that the board of *hieropoioi* has a secretary, although 328 omits the names of the board members. This omission and the letter forms suggest to Raubitschek a date of 558 or 554 for the third inscription. Hence nos. 327 and 328 would be later versions of no. 326 referring to later Panathenaic festivals after the introduction of the Games in 566.[52]

Raubitschek's theory is very specific and therefore vulnerable. Davison is skeptical of the assumption that *dromos* and *agon* refer to the *agon gymnicus* of the chronographers, and he offers another interpretation:

> No. 326 probably refers to that celebration of the Panathenaea which is conventionally dated to 566, but may not have been carved until at least one further festival of the same type had been held; No. 327 refers to such a festival, and probably it and No. 326 were carved at the same time; No. 328 seems to refer to a simpler type of festival (without the ἀγών), and perhaps to one which intervened between those referred to in Nos. 326 and 327.[53]

Many points remain debatable: the inscriptions are fragmentary, crucial

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[50] Raubitschek, *DAA*, 352-53, 356.

[51] Travlos, *PDA*, 2; cf. the use of *dromos* in Hdt. 6.126. E. Vanderpool, "The Date of the Pre-Persian City-Wall of Athens," in D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor, eds., ΦΟΡΟΣ, *Tribute to B.D. Meritt* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1974), 156-60, has suggested that the *dromos* in the Agora, the establishment of the Hekatompedon, votives in the sanctuary of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, and the building of an archaic ramp up the Acropolis all are to be connected with the establishment of the Panathenaea in "566". Vanderpool further suggests that the ramp (transforming the citadel of the Acropolis into a sanctuary) presupposes a city wall dating to 566 or several years earlier. Cf. F.E. Winter, "Sepulturae Intra Urbem and the Pre-Persian Walls of Athens," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 199-204. Such a wall and the development of the Agora, as Wycherley, *Stones*, 10-11, notes, are signs of civic development and civic consciousness.

[52] Raubitschek, *DAA*, 355-56; on the officials, see below p. 38f.

[53] Davison, "Panathenaea," 30, points out that *agon* and *dromos* may refer to an activity, the place where it takes place, or the people who take part in it.

words are ambiguous, and the dating and relationship between the inscriptions are uncertain. However, this group of inscriptions does show that official action was being taken concerning a *dromos* and an *agon*. Such terms suggest athletics and the reference is probably to the Panathenaic Games, which, for practical purposes, can be dated from approximately 566 onwards.

It is regrettable that "566"—such a crucial date for Athenian athletics—remains so uncertain. It is important to realize that if the Panathenaea was reformed during the archonship of Hippokleides in 566 this means only that he was in office at the time of the reform. It is an interesting question whether the archonship was the place from which political power and initiative came,[54] or whether it was the office by which a younger man was co-opted into the ruling circles.[55] Although Hippokleides was a member of the aristocratic, horse-racing family of Miltiades, and he should not be judged too harshly for his performance earlier in Sikyon, nowhere else is he known as a serious reformer. Did the responsibility for the reformation of the Panathenaea then lie elsewhere?

A scholiast on the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides adds an interesting note about the early festival:

> ὁ τῶν Παναθηναίων ἀγών] τῶν μικρῶν λέγει (sc. Aristides)· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα, ἐπὶ Ἐριχθονίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος γενόμενα ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ Ἀστερίου τοῦ Γίγαντος. τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Πεισίστρατος ἐποίησεν.[56]

Despite the lack of corroborating testimonia for this reference connecting Pisistratus with the establishment of the Great Panathenaea, the idea has found general acceptance. Ziehen suggested that Hippokleides perhaps founded only the athletic games, and that Pisistratus gave the Great Panathenaea its extended format later during the tyranny.[57] Others have suggested that there was a connection between Hippokleides and Pisistratus in their possible influence on the festival since both apparently came from Brauron.[58] Certainly Pisistratus was prominent and politically ambitious at the time, and

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[54] As in Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 13.2.

[55] R. Sealey, "Regionalism in Archaic Athens," *Hist.* 9 (1960): 167.

[56] Schol. on Aelius Aristides 13.189.4-5 (ed. Dindorf, III. 323; cf. Arist. frag. 637 Rose); only Dindorf's manuscript contains ἀρχαιότερος; Davison, "Panathenaea," 24.

[57] L. Ziehen, s.v. Panathenaia, *PW* XVIII 3 (1949), 459. Thomas J. Figueira, "The Ten *Archontes* of 579/8 at Athens," *Hesp.* 53 (1984): 447-74, has made an intriguing argument concerning "... the involvement of the Panathenia in the rhythm of political crisis in early 6th-century Attica." (466) He suggests that years of the Greater Panathenaea correspond to significant political incidents and "populist agitation" at four-year intervals because of increased participation in elections of some officials due to attendance at the festival, especially of people from beyond the *asty*. Unfortunately, his argument (467-68) that the quadrennial version of the Panathenaea predates "566" is unconvincing.

[58] See Davison, "Panathenaea;" Sealey, *Greek City-States*, 137-41; C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952; reprint ed., 1962), 133, 326-31.

he distinguished himself as polemarch in 565 in a war against Megara.[59] The fostering of games in 566 could have been a move by Pisistratus to advance his career.[60] Unfortunately there is no certain evidence that Hippokleides and Pisistratus cooperated to influence the festival, that Pisistratus instituted the Great Panathenaea, or that the relationship between the archonship of Hippokleides and the introduction of the games was anything but chronological.

Consider the situation in the 560s. The sixth century had already seen the establishment of the Periodos, Athenians had competed therein, and Solon apparently had legislated rewards for victorious athletes. In approximately 566 Solon, still alive and back from his travels, apparently was on good terms with Pisistratus (prior to 561).[61] With the successful Olympic model at hand, with a native tradition of funeral games, and even perhaps with a fear of the negative political potential of aristocratic athleticism, the political powers at Athens—perhaps urged by Solon or Pisistratus—recast a traditional festival to include games and an extended format every fourth year. The idea of patriotism and decreased factionalism would appeal to perceptive leading citizens, and the opportunity to compete or observe at home would appeal to all. Recall that later during his tyranny Pisistratus had a policy of advancing the cult of Athena,[62] and that the Pisistratids did develop the festival further, notably with the setting of rules for a competitive recitation of Homer.[63] If not necessarily initiating the idea, Pisistratus, later when he was solidly in power in the 530s, could reinforce the operation of civic athletics. His motivation and the end results remain the same.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the admittedly scattered and indefinite evidence for early athletics at Athens. From Geometric vase-paintings and Homeric traditions, it is reasonable to assume that Athens had funeral

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[59] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1.

[60] Parke, *Festivals*, 34, points to the political rivalry at Athens around 566 and, despite the lack of evidence, he feels that a likely motive behind the founding of the games was its appeal to the populace. W. R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens," in Ward, *Quest for Theseus*, 146, notes that Pisistratus used myths, cults and festivals as part of his policy of emphasizing and encouraging the unity of Attica: "It was under him that the Panathenaia, the annual festival of the union of Attica, was given a splendour which it had hitherto never attained."

[61] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.2; Plut. *Sol.* 29-30.

[62] The association of Pisistratus with Athena is demonstrated in Herodotus' account (1.60.3-5) of Pisistratus' return to Athens in a chariot with Phye posing as Athena. John Boardman has argued that Pisistratus also deliberately identified himself with Herakles, presenting both of them as protégés of Athena: "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* fasc. 1 (1972): 57-72 and "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis," *JHS* 95 (1975): 1-12. Boardman interprets the ruse of Phye installing Pisistratus on the Acropolis as a manipulation of the theme of Herakles' introduction to Olympus.

[63] Pl. *Hipparch.* 228b; see see Davison, "Panathenaea," 29.

games in the eighth century on a spontaneous, aristocratic basis. According to Thompson's theory and inferring from votive evidence, there probably was a development toward games associated with hero cults in seventh-century Athens. From at least 696 onward Athens was producing Olympic athletes and one of these, through his tyrannical ambition, created chaos at Athens during the Kylonian affair. Like Kylon, the young, aristocratic and athletic Hippokleides and Megakles, in their pursuit of Agariste, showed the appeal of clan interests and foreign contacts. Athletic proficiency was socially significant but athletes lacked a strong *polis*-orientation. By the early decades of the sixth century Athens had athletes and aristocratic athletics, but the city itself was troubled and disorganized in its political and athletic life.

Despite the historiographic problems, Solon can be seen as a significant figure in the history of Athenian athletics. It can be argued that Solon codified into law awards for athletic victors, not necessarily inventing or circumscribing such rewards. It is also quite conceivable that he legislated certain morality laws concerning slaves, pederasty and activities related to athletics. Supposedly Solonian laws concerning athletic facilities seem anachronistic and probably provide good examples of false attributions to the lawgiver. The crucial point is that Solon represented the Athenian body politic, and in a non-revolutionary but significant move he asserted the influence of the state for the first time in the realm of athletics. Although not a major concern of the reformer, Solon's athletic laws were consistent with his other acts in being motivated by his patriotic desire for a strong and harmonious state. The date of Solon's acts remains uncertain, but in terms of the history of Athenian athletics he may represent a transitional step between the athletic world of Kylon and the athletic world of Athenian civic athletics—that is, between the athletics of a clan state and those of a citizen's state. After Athens came to terms with the practice of athletics, acknowledging it via official laws and rewards, the *polis* could advance toward civic athletics.

It is possible but unlikely that civic athletics predate 566 at Athens as indicated by the proto-Panathenaic or horse-head amphorae. The myths of Athens include sacred and political versions of the introduction of the Panathenaic Games, but late and problematic sources attach the introduction to 566 and the archonship of Hippokleides. This approximate date and the civic nature of the Panathenaic Games are corroborated by the famous Burgon Panathenaic prize amphora and the heavily reconstructed *dromos* inscriptions from the Acropolis. Hippokleides seems an unlikely candidate to be the motivator of Athenian civic athletics. Rather the venerable Solon, or more probably the rising Pisistratus, put the wheels in motion. An appreciation of the negative, disruptive potential of non-civic athletics should have been created earlier by the Kylonian affair. Civic athletics would favor

community consciousness rather than clan factionalism; and, in more basic terms, it would be good for the reputation of the city and increase Athenian opportunities to observe and participate in games.[64]

The situation in 566 is unclear, but Pisistratus became a dominant force in Athenian history shortly thereafter, and by the end of the tyranny civic athletics were thriving at Athens. Although his motives were not as admirable as Solon's, Pisistratus provided the patriotic drive and the political and religious centralization that helped Athens progress as a state. The tyrant had the means and the motive for influencing the Panathenaea; archaic aristocratic agonism (in politics and games) had to be controlled for the sake of the city and the career of Pisistratus. The ancient evidence is weak but probability and modern opinion support the idea that Pisistratus, not unselfishly, fostered athletics at Athens to appeal to the populace and spread the fame of Athens.[65]

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[64] Figueira, "Ten *Archontes*," 469, comments: "The Panathenaia, from its name, from its association with Peisistratos, and from its subsequent elaboration in Periclean Athens, can be seen to have had a "populist" hue ...."

[65] Sealey, *Greek City-States*, 135-39; V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates* (London, 1967), 82-83, feels Pisistratus' festival program reflects the tyrant's "typical mixture of religion, patriotism and self-aggrandizement." On the involvement of Hippias and Hipparchos in the Panathenaea, see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.2-3; Thuc. 6.54-58. Their active role in the organization of the procession probably was a prominent but not a solitary example of the family's involvement.

CHAPTER TWO

ATHENIAN CIVIC ATHLETICS

Famous for its varied and numerous festivals,[1] ancient Athens was proud of its reputation for having more festivals than other states,[2] and many of the agonistic aspects of these celebrations were athletic. State festivals were religious holidays dedicated to deities; and athletic competitions, like sacrifices, processions and feasts, were an appropriate act of worship and an element of religious ceremony of festivals.[3] The Panathenaea and the Athenian festival program with its athletic aspects grew with the city and became more splendid with the Empire in the fifth century. Some festivals were established or fostered by various persons for specific reasons, and certain events at times were introduced or became more or less popular. The following examines the evidence for the athletic components of the Panathenaea and other state festivals. It also surveys the evidence for various individual events. By outlining the Athenian athletic program, and by suggesting significant stages and historical factors in that program from ca. 566 to 322, this investigation demonstrates the involvement of athletics with Athenian civic life.

Before turning to the Panathenaea as the most famous Athenian athletic gathering, it is important to clarify this study's approach to Attic vase-paintings as a valuable source for the history of Athenian athletics. While black-figure Panathenaic prize amphorae testify to the establishment and operation of civic athletics in the Panathenaea,[4] other non-Panathenaic vases

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[1] On the exceptional number and expense of Athenian sacrifices and processions: Ps.Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.2,8; Ar. *Nub.* 306-13, *Eq.* 582, 1037, *Pax* 1.24.3; Ps.Pl. *Alc.* II 148e.

[2] In the Funeral Oration (Thuc. 2.38) Pericles praises Athenian games and festivals held throughout the year as civilized recreational diversions. Likewise Isoc. *Paneg.* 50.45-46.

[3] On Athenian festivals the basic work is August Mommsen's *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1898), which was brought up to date by Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1959). H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), is more recent but aims at a broader audience and concentrates on the fifth and fourth centuries. Like Deubner, his focus is on cult, ritual and the festival year. E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, 1982), integrates recent archaeological evidence and discusses the origins of festivals. For an outdated treatment from an athletic viewpoint, see Gardiner, *GASF*, 227-50. For testimonia and discussion of the dates of various festivals, see Jon D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975).

[4] On the Panathenaics: the standard reference collection is J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1928, reprint ed., New York, 1978), to which Beazley makes additions in his *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters and to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1971). Beazley's *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), especially chap. 8, "Panathenaic Amphorae," is an excellent introduction, to be supplemented by John Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York, 1974), especially chap. 7 "Panathenaic Vases." J. Frel, *Panathenaic Prize Amphoras*, Kerameikos 2 (Athens, 1973), is a brief introduction with special attention to finds from the Kerameikos.

overall also reflect the nature and development of athletics at Athens. Together the general ceramic evidence and the Panathenaic prize vases can indicate the introduction, history and popularity of individual gymnastic and equestrian events. However, some cautionary remarks are in order. Except for the Panathenaic prize amphorae, Athenian pottery with athletic scenes usually can provide only general impressions of the athletic inclinations and activities of the Athenians. Discovered over a vast territory, Attic works with athletic scenes may have been painted for foreign markets; the scenes themselves may be generalized, non-Athenian, or even imaginary.[5] Such evidence does show Athenian familiarity with athletics, but only in combination with literary and other testimonia does it verify the existence of civic athletics. Although the corpus is limited, the Panathenaic prize amphorae by their special nature are sound evidence for civic athletics. Only a representation on a Panathenaic prize vase is ceramic proof of the event's inclusion in the state-supervised Panathenaic program; scenes on non-prize vases can only suggest Athenian familiarity with—and probable activity in—specific events. A final caution is that dates based stylistically on ceramic evidence obviously are very approximate in most cases.

Panathenaea

Since they constitute a major source for the Panathenaic Games, the classification of vases as "Panathenaic prize amphorae" in this study must be explained. Vases so described hereafter are all black-figure, inscribed amphorae (or fragments) with distinctive decorations and with a discernible athletic activity on the reverse.[6] Numerous vases (pseudo-Panathenaics or Panathenaic-type amphorae) are similar to the prize vases in shape and decoration, but these lack the official inscription and were not definitely Panathenaic prizes. Perhaps they were souvenirs, imitations or market items.[7] Although some reference to the Panathenaea is apparent, these Panathenaic-

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Earlier and more specialized treatments include: G. von Brauchitsch, *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* (Leipzig, 1910); K. Peters, "Studien zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren," (Ph.D. dissertation, Köln, 1941); J.D. Beazley, "Panathenaica," *AJArch.* 47 (1943): 441-65.

[5] Harris, *GAA*, 29, reminds us that, "The Greek painter was an artist .... With him aesthetic considerations always came first."

[6] Such a limitation excludes imitations and overly fragmentary works of questionable reliability. Beazley and Boardman distinguish between prize and non-prize vases and are the main sources for this section; cf. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, and Gardiner, *GASF*, who tend to lump Panathenaic-type vases and uninscribed works as prize amphorae.

[7] M.A. Tiberius, "Παναθηναικά," *Deltion* 29A (1974): 142-51, argues (from Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49.3 and 60.1) that the pseudo-Panathenaics were models offered by various workshops competing in a state contest in which the victorious workshop was awarded the contract for the manufacture of the prizes. The hypothesis is interesting but Tiberius himself admits the uncertainty and lack of sound evidence on the purpose or manufacture of the pseudo-Panathenaics.

type vases are not reliable evidence for civic athletics and are treated below along with Attic pottery in general.

Civic athletics formed the historical context for the regular production of Panathenaic prize amphorae, the standardized vases so famous as prizes from the state games of Athens.[8] This pottery type consistently connected Athena—the political goddess *par excellence* of the Athenians—with athletic competitions. Such prizes of domestic, sacred oil in locally-made containers inscribed with the name of the city were extremely appropriate for the patriotic focus of Athenian athletics. These prizes had a very real value as well as a spiritual and competitive significance.[9] The combination of Athena, official prizes, and a national festival including athletics coincides with a development from a period of aristocratic factionalism in both politics and athletics to a period of heightened civic consciousness. The civic supervision of athletic games, the offering of distinctively Athenian prizes, and the involvement of the state in facilities where athletes could prepare themselves—all these probably were related historical developments.

Prize Panathenaic amphorae display a remarkable consistency from the sixth to the fourth century. The canonical decorations become established around 530 and can be seen on the Panathenaics of the Euphiletos Painter, the earliest artist from whom several such works survive.[10] Below the floral decoration on the neck, the front panel shows a figure of Athena in a warlike attitude striding forward between two Doric columns supporting two cocks.[11] The telling inscription τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων also appears on the front. The reverse depicts some form of athletic activity, presumably the event for which the particular amphora was awarded. This combination of scenes of Athena and athletics with the inscriptions, and the regularity in appearance, declares that these were officially commissioned athletic prizes.

The earliest recognizable Panathenaic prize amphora is the famous Burgon amphora.[12] Found in an ancient cemetery outside the walls of Athens near the Acharnian Gate,[13] this vase is Panathenaic but not canonical. There

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[8] A famous reference is Pind. *Nem.* 10.33-36.

[9] Parke, *Festivals*, 34. For calculations of the numbers of Panathenaics produced and the value of the prizes, see D.A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," *Hesp.* 27 (1958), "Panathenaic Amphoras," 178-86.

[10] *ABV* 322 nos. 1-12.

[11] The depiction of Athena may have been taken from an early cult statue; the columns may suggest her temple; and the cocks are probably symbols of the spirit of competition.

[12] *ABV* 89 no. 1 (Br. Mus. B130); see Ill. A. For treatments of the vase, see Beazley, "Panathenaica," 441, and *Development*, 88-90; Boardman, *Black Figure*, 168, figs. 296.1,2. For an informative discussion of the discovery and date of the piece, see P.E. Corbett, "The Burgon and Blacas Tombs," *JHS* 80 (1960): 52-60, pls. 1-7.

[13] This amphora was found in association with six smaller vases, one of them an Attic black-figure lekythos showing a nude, running youth between two draped youths (E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi* (Paris, 1936), 95, group of little black-necked lekythoi, no. 13). Noting that the Burgon amphora dates from ca. 566 and that the smaller vases are unlikely to be

are no columns with the archaic, flat-footed Athena and the neck of the vase has a siren and an owl rather than the usual floral motif. However, the inscription is present with εἰμί added: ΤΟΝΑΘΕΝΕΘΕΝΑΘΛΟΝ:ΕΜΙ. The reverse shows a special type of two-horse or two-mule race, the *synoris*. Here the driver sits in a light cart driving a pair of horses; the wheels are cart rather than chariot wheels, and the collar is similar to a mule's collar.

Stylistically the Burgon amphora falls around 566 but not much earlier. The obvious temptation has been to connect the vase with the reorganization of the Panathenaea in 566 and to regard it as archaeological proof of the establishment of the Panathenaic Games.[14] A new series of vases might coincide with the inclusion of athletic events in the festival; but, as we have seen, the nature and date of the reorganization are far from certain.[15] Moreover, Boardman and Beazley suggest that since the event shown is equestrian rather than athletic (by their terms) the vase may predate the reorganization of 566. Corbett cautiously dates the vase some ten to twenty years before the middle of the sixth century and warns that suggestions of absolute dates for Attic vases earlier than the middle of the sixth century must allow for a margin of ten years on either side. At any rate, this earliest Panathenaic prize amphora is to be associated with the early Panathenaic Games, and the date of 566 for the introduction of the Games remains conventional.[16]

It is interesting that the Panathenaics in fact become standardized around 530 at the very time when a shift toward red-figure begins for most ordinary ware. Was the establishment of a canonical form the result of a "settling down" of the pottery style, of fossilization in black-figure, or of some official sanction? Also, we shall see that the earliest Panathenaics depict only the traditional events (footrace, horse race, chariots or boxers) but those of the last quarter of the sixth century show the full range of the *pentathlon*. Does this indicate an expansion or systematization of the Panathenaic program? The coincidence of these ceramic notes with the period of the Pisistratid tyranny is suggestive.[17] In the 530s Pisistratus was securely in power and

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earlier than 500, Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 285, suggests that a Panathenaic victor kept one of his prizes and that later it was used to bury him in.

[14] Davison, "Panathenaea," 26-27.

[15] The Burgon amphora is simply the oldest Panathenaic prize amphora to have survived; it is not necessarily or even probably the first ever made. Corbett, "Burgon and Blacas Tombs," 53, quotes a letter by Burgon in which he admits that prior to this discovery he had found and thrown out four similar amphorae unwashed because he had not recognized their value.

[16] Stylistically close or a little later in time than the Burgon vase, the Halle amphora by a painter near Lydos is usually taken to be the earliest Panathenaic to show athletes, although not the earliest produced; *ABV* 120; Boardman, *Black Figure*, fig. 295. It depicts three men in a footrace with the inscription ἀνδρῶν. Like the Burgon and other early Panathenaics, this vase lacks the canonical cock columns and Athena stands flat-footed.

[17] The distinctively Athenian prize vases would be distributed and displayed widely by victorious athletes. Athenian economic prosperity under the tyrants, the advancement of the

engaged in civically oriented projects. Certainly he would have been interested in references to Athena and her games and new temple. Although Pisistratid influence on the Panathenaic athletic program cannot be proven, it is unlikely that the tyrant would overlook the value of civic athletics for promoting Athens, pleasing the populace and dissipating aristocratic energies, and augmenting the cult of the patron goddess Athena.

Turning now to the reasonably well-documented program and management of the Panathenaea, it is necessary to distinguish between the annual and penteteric versions of the festival. The Lesser or Annual Panathenaea was the basic early festival; and an inscription of 335/4, recording part of the reorganization of festivals under Lycurgus, suggests that the main elements of the yearly festival were a sacrifice, an all-night festival (*pannychis*), and a procession beginning at sunrise.[18] Although the lesser festival by the late fifth century had cyclic choruses and pyrrhic dances, and possibly a torch race, there is no proof that the annual Panathenaea included athletic games.[19]

From the sixth century on the Panathenaea was celebrated with especial grandeur every fourth year (in the third year of each Olympiad) as the "Great Panathenaea." This elaborate festival included the traditional sacrifice and procession and also an extensive program of athletic and other *agones*. A passage from Plato suggests that the Panathenaic athletic program opened with the *stadion*, followed by the *diaulos*, *hippios* and *dolichos* races, and the *hoplitodromos* came last.[20] The *Constitution of Athens* attributed to Aristotle records that Panathenaic prizes were awarded to victors in musical contests, a contest in manly beauty (*euandria*), and gymnastic contests and horse races.[21] The whole program probably took nine days: on days four and five the gymnastic contests were held; equestrian events were held on day six; and day seven saw the pyrrhic and military events closing with a torch race in the evening.[22]

Our most informative document about the pre-Hellenistic Panathenaic Games is *IG* II² 2311 of ca. 380, a fragmentary and incomplete list of Pana-

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Athenian pottery industry, and the fostering of the Panathenaea all perhaps are interrelated; see L. H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece, The City-States ca. 700-500* (London, 1976), 98.

[18] *IG* II² 334 (*SIG* 271 = Sokolowski, *LS* 33 B32-34) especially lines 31-32; see D. M. Lewis, "Law on the Lesser Panathenaia," *Hesp.* 28 (1959): 239-47; and L. Robert, "Sur une loi d'Athènes relative aux petites Panathénées," *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960): 189-203. In general, see Parke, *Festivals*, 47-50; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 24-26, Simon, *Festivals*, 55-58; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 154-55.

[19] Lys. 21.2.4; Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; on the torch race, see J.K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies," *JHS* 87 (1967): 37.

[20] Pl. *Leg.* 8.833a-b.

[21] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60.4.

[22] On the athletic program, see Gardiner, *GASF*, 229-41 and L. Ziehen, "Panathenaea," *PW* XVIII 3 (1949), 474-80.

thenaic events and prizes.[23] Part one (lines 1-22) deals with musical competitions for which gold crowns and money prizes were awarded. Part two (lines 23-49) lists prizes for gymnastic events : *stadion*, *pentathlon*, wrestling, boxing and the *pankration*. Prizes are listed for two age groups : boys (παῖδες) and beardless youths (ἀγένειοι)[24]. The listing of men's prizes is lost. Note that prizes were given for second as well as for first place; the prizes listed indicate a ratio of five to one between the value of first and second place awards. Understandably, prizes for youths were slightly greater than those for boys, but for all the gymnastic events the prizes were Panathenaic amphorae filled with oil.

Part three (lines 50-71) records Panathenaic equestrian events. Again the prizes are amphorae, and these are given for both first and second place; but there is no consistent ratio between prizes for first and second placements. Events listed include a chariot race for colts (ἵππων πωλικῶι ζεύγει) and a chariot race for full-grown horses (ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγωι). Events for warriors (πολεμιστηρίοις) included a horse race (ἵππωι κέλητι νικῶντι) and a chariot race (ἵππων ζεύγει νικῶντι). In addition there were prizes for a processional chariot race (ζεύγει πομπικῶι νικῶντι) and for javelin throwing from horseback (ἀφ' ἵππο ἀκοντίζοντι).

Part four (lines 72-81) lists special tribal events: the prizes were not amphorae and only first place prizes were given. Contests in the pyrrhic dance were held for teams of boys, youths and men (ἀνδράσι πυρριχισταῖς) with prizes of a hundred drachmas and an ox for each class. The tribe victorious in the *euandria* contest received the same prize. The program included a torch race for which the winning torch-bearer got a hydria and thirty drachmas, and apparently the tribe also got a hundred drachmas and an ox (lines 76-77).[25] Finally, in the contest of ships (νικητήρια νεῶν ἁμίλλης) the victorious tribe got 300 drachmas and also 200 more for a feast.[26]

Discussions of the Panathenaic program often rely heavily on two second-century inscriptions (*IG* II² 2313, 2314), which testify to an expanded program including as many as twenty-four equestrian events.[27] The Olympic-style

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[23] *IG* II² 2311 (*SIG* 1055); Parke, *Festivals*, 35-37; on the events, see Appendix A. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 115-27, discusses the list and offers a chart of ancient and modern equivalents. For example, he calculates that a men's stadion victor's prize of one hundred amphorae was worth about 1200 drachmas or the equivalent of $67,000 US or nearly three years' wages.

[24] A division into three age classes also existed at Nemea, Delphi and Isthmia (*SIG* 677-78, Pind. *Ol.* 8.54) but Olympia had only boys' and men's classes (Paus. 6.2.10; 6.6.1; 6.14.1-2). On the Athenian model, Plato recommends that there be three classes of athletes (*Leg.* 8.833c-d).

[25] Mommsen, *Feste*, 103-04.

[26] The last line (line 81) is very fragmentary but may record a prize for second place in the boat race.

[27] *IG* II² 2313; 2314; Gardiner, *GASF*, 236-37; M.A. Martin, *Les Cavaliers athéniens* (Paris, 1887), 227-35; Patrucco, *Sport*, 380-81, 390-91; W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), 291-95.

events (gymnastic events, horse and chariot races) were "open" (ἐκ πάντων) or Panhellenic, while other events were "closed" or limited to citizens (ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν). These second-century documents need not correspond to the pre-Hellenistic program. However, it is probable that in the classical age the musical and Olympic-style events were "open," since Pindar often refers to victories by non-Athenians at Athens, presumably in the Panathenaea.[28] Tribal events would naturally be limited to citizens; but the specialty equestrian events, although "closed" in the second century, may have been "open" in the fourth since their prizes then were still amphorae (as in the Olympic-style events) rather than money (as in the tribal events).[29] *IG* II² 2311 does not declare that these events were closed, and in fact very little is known about these events from classical sources.

Athletic *agones* as elaborate as those of the Great Panathenaea obviously required careful preparation and management. Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* is the best source on the arrangements involved. The Commissioners of the Games (*athlothetai*) were chosen by lot, one from each tribe, and stayed in office for four years, dining at the Prytaneion in the years of the Great Panathenaea from the fourth of Hekatombaion onward. They arranged the procession and the musical, gymnastic and equestrian games. With the Boule, they provided the *peplos* and prize amphorae, and they gave the oil to the athletes.[30] Inscriptions show that large sums of money were disbursed to these financial administrators from Athena's Treasury.[31]

Apparently the officials who organized the Great Panathenaea may not always have been the *athlothetai*. If the archaic inscriptions from the Acropolis discussed earlier do in fact refer to the Great Panathenaea, they indicate that the early festival was run by a board of eight *hieropoioi*.[32] The fourth-century *hieropoioi*, selected by lot, comprised two boards: one dealt with sacrifices and the other—the "annual *hieropoioi*"—handled the πεντετηρίδες,

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[28] Parke, *Festivals*, 37. Pind. *Nem.* 10.33-36, 4.19; *Ol.* 7.82, 9.88, 13.38-39; *Isth.* 2.20, 4.25.

[29] Cf. Gardiner, *GASF*, 236; M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 226-35.

[30] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60.1; 62.2; see the commentaries by Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution*, 238 and Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon*, 229-30. Since these officials were allotted it is unlikely that the office was liturgical. On *athlothetai* and other possible magistrates depicted in the Parthenon frieze, see Simon, *Festivals*, 62-63.

[31] Blaise Nagy, "The Athenian Athlothetai," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 307-13, discusses *IG* I² 302, a list of allotments concerning the years 418/7 and 415/4 including (lines 66-67) nine talents to the *athlothetai*, and debates (see his bibliography) whether the unspecified Panathenaea is the Greater or Lesser one (cf. *IG* II² 305 by reconstruction). Nagy leaves the issue undecided but, given the context of war and the disbursement of five talents 1000 drachmas in 410/9 specified for the "Greater Panathenaea" (*IG* I² 304.5-6), Davison's conclusion ("Panathenaea," 32-33) that such records refer to installments concerning preparations for the greater festival seems sound.

[32] Raubitschek, *DAA*, nos. 326-28, see above, p. 26ff.

all the festivals held every fourth year—except the Panathenaea.[33] An inscription of 335/4 indicates that the *hieropoioi* were in charge of the Lesser Panathenaea.[34] Davison has shown convincingly that the transfer of the responsibility for the Great Panathenaea from the *heiropoioi* to the *athlothetai* took place probably just after 418. According to Davison, the *heiropoioi* had always handled the Panathenaic festival, possibly aided by the *athlothetai*; but when the duties involved increased in the fifth century, the *athlothetai* were established or elevated to handle the Great Panathenaea while the *heiropoioi* kept control of the annual festival.[35] Such changes in the officials probably reflect changes or expansions of the Athenian athletic program.

Aristotle provides further information on preparations for the games, illustrating several levels of civic involvement. The Boule and the Treasurer of the Military Fund supervised the manufacture of the images of Nike and the Panathenaic prizes.[36] The Panathenaic oil itself originally came from sacred olive trees dedicated to Athena scattered all over Attica. This oil was the property of the state, and the trees were under the care of the Areopagus; in former times the penalty for destroying such a tree was death.[37] By the fourth century an elaborate procedure existed for the handling of the sacred oil: the Archon was in charge of collecting the oil due in his year, and he delivered it to the Treasurers of the Acropolis who in turn dispensed it to the Commissioners of the Games at the time of the Great Panathenaea.[38] From an administrative point of view, the expense, time, and number of civic officials involved in the preparation of the festival and prizes show the deep commitment of Athens to Panathenaic athletics.[39] Furthermore, there are indications of an increasing institutionalization of Athenian athletics by the fourth century.

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[33] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.6-8.

[34] *IG* II² 334.31-32, τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικοῦντας τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν....

[35] Davison, "Panathenaea," 31-33. Nagy, "Athlothetai," 313, prefers to argue that the *athlothetai*, even to the end of the second century, also administered the lesser festival.

[36] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49.3 probably refers to the amphorae rather than the oil.

[37] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60.2 comments that the penalty had lapsed by his day. On the sacred olives (*moriai*): Paus. 1.30.2; Hdt. 5.82, 8.55; Ar. *Nub.* 1005; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 295-301. For the prohibition of exportation of the oil, except by victors: Schol. on Pind. *Nem.* 10.64.

[38] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 60.2-3. Archon dates appearing on later prizes vases do not correspond with the years in which the Greater Panathenaea was held. Aristotle shows that such dates refer to the collection of the oil and not the awarding of the prize. On the storage of oil in the Pompeion in the fourth century and in the Hellenistic Arsenal thereafter, see "R. L. Pounder, "A Hellenistic Arsenal in Athens," *Hesp.* 52 (1983): 250-51.

[39] Even the Archon Basileus was involved in the Games since Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.1 says he was in charge of all torch races.

Other Festivals with Athletics

Theseia

An interesting incident in the athletic history of Athens involves the Theseia or festival of Theseus.[40] Kimon, on an early expedition, captured the island of Skyros and, carrying out the instructions of a Delphic oracle, he returned the "bones of Theseus" to Athens.[41] The return and burial of the bones, probably in 475 or 469, was the occasion for the creation of a national festival to Theseus including a procession, sacrifice and games.[42] Before this there had been a shrine to Theseus in Athens, and his cult apparently was associated with the clan of the Phytalidai, who in legend first welcomed young Theseus to Athens and purified him of his blood guilt.[43] Following Kimon's initiative, Athens took over the cult, and the festival of the Theseia became very popular and further spread the myth of Theseus. Farnell sees this as an instance of epic engendering cult, but the role of Kimon must not be underestimated.[44] By his addition to the athletic life of Athens, Kimon enhanced both his own fame and the glory of Athens and its national hero.

The program of the Theseia is best known from victor lists of the second century, notably a list of 161/0.[45] This shows that the festival was organized by *agonothetai*, that most events were limited to Athenian citizens, and that the festival was essentially the games of the *epheboi* with more pronounced military aspects than the Panathenaea. The very elaborate second-century program included a torch race, *euandria*, *euhoplia*, *hoplomachia*, javelin-throwing, regular athletic events and a full equestrian program.[46] Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the athletic program of the Theseia

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[40] In general, see Parke, *Festivals*, 81-82; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 224-26; Mommsen, *Feste*, 278-95; Gardiner, *GASF*, 245-48.

[41] Plut. *Thes.* 36.1; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormwell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford, 1956) 2, no. 214. Also see Fontenrose, *Delphic Oracle*, 73-84, Q164; and A. J. Podlecki, "Cimon, Skyros and 'Theseus' Bones'," *JHS* 91 (1971): 141-43. Cf. the treatment of the bones of Orestes (Hdt. 1.67.2-68.6) and Alexander (Aelian *VH* 12.64).

[42] Plut. *Thes.* 36.4, *Cim.* 8.6. Parke, *Festivals*, 81, and Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 224, accept the traditional date of 475; but J. D. Smart, "Kimon's Capture of Eion," *JHS* 87 (1967): 136-37, argues for 469/8.

[43] Shrine: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.4; Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F18a; Wycherley, *Agora III*, 118, *Stones*, 64. Phytalidai: Plut. *Thes.* 12.1, 23.3; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 224.

[44] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), 337-40, points out that Theseus was the Attic Herakles (Plut. *Thes.* 29.3) who represented the soul and ideal of the Athenian people. John N. Davie, "Theseus the King in Fifth-Century Athens," *G&R* 39 (1982): 25-34, agrees but stresses that the cult flourished strongly after Kimon's impetus.

[45] *IG* II^2 956 (*SIG* 667).

[46] On the program of the Theseia, see Gardiner, *GASF*, 246-48; Parke, *Festivals*, 82; and A. Wilhelm, "Siegerlisten aus Athen," *MDAI(A)* 30 (1905): 213-19. On the equestrian program, see M. A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 211-25.

in the fifth and fourth centuries. Invoking the "religious conservatism" of the Greeks, Gardiner feels that the second-century program represents the general character of the fifth-century festival, but it would be unsafe to assume that the program had not changed from the fifth to the second century.[47] Specific details of the athletic program of the pre-Hellenistic festival are lacking but probably the original Theseia did include some athletic *agones*. The nature of the festival probably was influenced by athletic precursors associated with hero cults and by the image of Theseus as an Athenian ideal, but most significant here is the fact that this localized cult was taken over by the *polis* and constituted an expansion of the civic athletic program of Athens. It is very unlikely that Kimon acted purely out of piety to the oracle, or that he was unaware of the political value of associating himself with Theseus and the new festival.[48]

Genesia and Epitaphia

The probability of funeral games and *agones* associated with cults of the heroized dead in early Athens agrees with a persistent association in Greek literature of athletics with heroes and cults of the heroized dead.[49] Historical examples show that the Greek tradition of funeral games (although perhaps altered) was not eliminated by the rise of athletic festivals like the Panathenaea. The Athenian Miltiades son of Kypselos was honored after his death with funeral games in the Thracian Chersonese.[50] Such examples of games for dead founders, heroes and benefactors show the continuing tradition of

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[47] Gardiner, *GASF*, 247; cf. Parke, *Festivals*, 82; Lycurgan influences on the festivals and *ephebeia* would have affected the Theseia.

[48] On the effectiveness of the return of the bones, see Plut. *Cim.* 8.6. In A.G. Ward, ed., *Quest for Theseus* (London, 1970), Ward, 142, comments: "Cimon's pious pilgrimage was probably motivated more by shrewd calculations of political effect than by genuine veneration for the long-dead lord of Athens ...." Also in Ward, W. R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens," notes that Kimon, like Pisistratus earlier, understood mythic identification in a way that is often hard for us to comprehend: "... myth was the language of domestic and international politics and a living reality which affected all aspects of life."

[49] L. Malten, "Leichenspiel und Totenkult," *MDAI(R)* 38-39 (1923-24): 300-40 and W. H. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," *TAPA* 72 (1941): 392-417, collect literary examples of funeral games for heroes; and J. Fontenrose, "The Hero as Athlete," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), vol. 1, 73-104, studies certain legends that tended to represent heroes as athletes and that attached heroic status to several historical Greek athletes. On possible private funeral games in Attica, see above, p. 18f.; on the issue of funeral games and hero cults in general, see Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," especially 18-20.

[50] Hdt. 6.38. For Brasidas at Amphipolis: Thuc. 5.11.1; for Leonidas and Pausanias at Sparta: Paus. 3.14.1. On the tradition of such funeral games, see Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, 79-80 and R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris, 1951), 194-201. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 6-10, sees this tradition continuing from the sixth century to the Hellenistic age but suggests a change in funeral games from early private rituals to civic institutions concerning heroized individuals.

funeral games in Greece; and at Athens there is evidence that games for the dead were held, with state involvement, in addition to the more widely recognized athletics of the Panathenaea and other festivals.

An Athenian festival of the dead,[51] the Genesia, may have included games, and it apparently was held on a civic basis. A passage from a lexicon of the second century after Christ suggests that Athens had a public festival with this name at least from the time of Solon:

> γενέσια· «οὔσης τε ἑορτῆς δημοτελοῦς ⟨ἐν⟩ Ἀθήναις Βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτῃ γενέσια καλουμένης», καθότι φησι Φιλόχορος. καὶ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν.[52]

Herodotus writes that the Issedonians had an annual festival that sons kept in honor of their dead fathers "just as the Greeks keep their feast of the dead"; but while the Issedonian custom was a private, family ceremony, the Athenian version of the Genesia involved the state.[53]

In a complex and imaginative study, Jacoby shows the derivation of Genesia from γενέται and characterizes it as the festival of the fathers or ancestors, originally a festival of the clans.[54] From the reference to Solon and an earlier suggestion by Mommsen, Jacoby hypothesizes that Solon changed the original Genesia festivals of the clans into one general festival of the dead. According to this theory, Solon retained the gentilician name but either eliminated or limited the clan festivals by the substitution of one public festival of the dead for all Athenians, hence the fixed date in the civic calendar. This may have been one of the Solonian measures limiting the sumptuousness of private burials,[55] measures particularly affecting the clans who could afford lavish rites (and games). Jacoby contends that Solon's aim was to further develop Athens from "the clan state into a citizens' state." Despite the attractiveness of the theory, there is no reliable contemporary evidence for the Genesia in classical Athens.[56] If such a civic Genesia existed, it would have been an appropriate occasion for the persistence—on a civic basis—of funeral games similar to Homeric precursors. Although the Genesia possibly involved funerary athletics in honor of *all* the Athenian dead, there is much more evidence for athletic games in commemoration of those Athenians who died in war.

The death of men in battle was a very suitable occasion for early funeral

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[51] The *Genesia* is discussed by Parke, *Festivals*, 53-54 and Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 229; but the most extensive treatment is F. Jacoby, "ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ, A Forgotten Festival of the Dead," *CQ* 38 (1944): 65-75.

[52] *Anecd. Bekk.* 1: 86,20, Ruschenbusch, *Solonos Nomoi*, F84, T32.

[53] Hdt. 4.26, παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατά περ Ἕλληνες τὰ γενέσια.

[54] Jacoby, "Genesia," 65-75.

[55] Ruschenbusch, *Solonos Nomoi*, F72a-c.

[56] On later testimonia for the Genesia, see the appendix to Jacoby's article.

games, and at Athens the state came to organize civic athletics for its war dead as part of a festival called the Epitaphia or the Epitaphios Agon.[57] Aristotle is a major source here and records that the Polemarch, as the traditional war leader, organized funeral games for the war dead and offerings for Harmodius and Aristogeiton, a popular hero cult in classical Athens.[58] Aristotle gives no details, but other references to public funeral games for the war dead do exist. Lysias says that those who died in battle were buried at public expense, and that games were held since these dead were esteemed worthy of the same honors as the immortals:

> καὶ γάρ τοι θάπτονται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλοότου, ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους τιμᾶσθαι.[59]

That the "games of strength, knowledge and wealth" were gymnastic, musical and hippic contests is shown in a Platonic passage on Athens' treatment of her war dead:

> αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτὴ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἅπερ ἑκάστῳ ἰδίᾳ γίγνεται, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἱππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης ....[60]

These and other sources report, but do not detail or specifically term as "Epitaphia," an elaborate program of civic games for the war dead honored as heroes.[61]

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[57] For the literary evidence for this festival, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 230-31; A. Brueckner, "Kerameikos-Studien, Der ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών im fünften Jahrhundert," *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910): 200-10; F. Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos, State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos," *JHS* 64 (1944): 37-66; Parke, *Festivals*, 54-55; W. Kendrick Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, Part 3 *Religion* (Berkeley, 1979), 183-84. On the appropriateness of contests at funerals and after sacrifices: K. Mueli, *Der griechische Agon: Kampf und Kampfspielen im Totenbrauch, Totentanz, Totenlage und Totenlob* (Cologne, 1968) and Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 53-58. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 6-9, regards the Epitaphia as funeral games for civic heroes (such as founders or war dead), established as an intentional honor and held as part of a civic festival. Such honors were celebrated at an individual's funeral and continued thereafter on a regular basis.

[58] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58.1; see Sandys, *Commentary*, 231-32. Brueckner, "Kerameikos Studien," 200-10, plates 8-10 and Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 230, plates 26-27, associate Attic lekythoi of the second half of the fifth century with funeral games in the Epitaphia because they depict an athlete with a discus and an armed combat at tombs; but D. C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975), 65, n. 8, 219-20, discusses these vases (*ARV*² 1374 no. 18; 1246 no. 2, her plates 44.3, 45.3) and is quite skeptical, as is Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," 150-51, who interprets these simply as scenes suitable to the life of the dead person. Other vases with possible funeral game scenes include *ABV* 346-47 no. 8; *ARV*² 507 no. 88; see Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 193, 198.

[59] Lys. *Epitaphios* 2.80.

[60] Pl. *Menex.* 249b. This custom may have been the basis for Plato's suggestion in the *Laws* (12.947e) that the deceased Examiners of the magistrates be honored with annual musical, gymnastic and hippic games. Plato also recommends (12.947a-c) a procession including cavalry and hoplites, a panegyric and an accompaniment by the young men of the gymnasia.

[61] Dem. 60.36 refers to state sacrifices and games for the dead. Philostr. *VS* 2.30 (623) says games for the dead were held by the Polemarch in the Academy in Roman times.

Probably Athens assumed responsibility for funeral honors for her war dead at some point in the fifth century. In his account of the events of 479/8, Diodorus associates the Persian War with the institution of the *epitaphios agon* and *logos*, saying that Athens embellished the tombs of (Persian) war dead and that for the first time the Athenians officially established funeral games (καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τότε πρῶτον ἐποίησε) and legislated that ovations were to be given upon those buried at public expense.[62] There has been debate on when the public burial ground was established in the Kerameikos; and Jacoby, although he dates the cult of the war dead to the battle of Marathon, dates the institution of state burial of the war dead and the *epitaphios logos* to 465/4.[63] The classical evidence is too weak to resolve problems of terminology with certainty,[64] but it is now proven that games by some name were held after the Persian War. Archaeological proof of such games has been found in the form of prizes. Three bronze vessels (two lebetes and a hydria) bear the same inscription (one reminiscent of that on Panathenaic prize amphorae): 'Αθεναῖοι· ἆθλα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τõι πολέμοι.[65] The letter forms on the first vase date it to ca. 480, those on the second place it slightly later, and the third vase dates by shape and letter forms to the second half of the fifth century. These were discovered in graves beyond Athens but their inscriptions show that they must have been prizes at the games known as the Epitaphia. These vessels show that the games properly were occasions for civic athletics with civic prizes and supervision, and the date of the earliest vessel supports Diodorus' date of 479 for the institution of civic funeral games for the Athenian war dead.[66]

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[62] Diod. Sic. 11.33.3. The Greeks held a similar festival at Plataea every four years, called the Eleutheria, to celebrate the victory over the Persians, and this included prizes and races (Paus. 9.2.5-6; Plut. *Aris.* 21.2; Strabo 9.2.31). Plutarch says this festival was instituted on the proposal of Aristides but the lack of early evidence inclines Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 7, to see the games as introduced in a later revival of the festival. On the issue: Pritchett, *Greek State at War*, Part 3, 154-55, 179-83.

[63] Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," 37-66; cf. Mommsen, *Feste*, 298; Travlos, *PDA*, 300; Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, 2: 94-101.

[64] Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," 61-65, further suggests that the Genesia and the rites for the war dead were combined in times of war, and that the Hellenistic Epitaphia was the "stunted successor" of the Genesia. As he points out (39, 60), the civic rites for the war dead meant they were raised to the rank of heroes, and the state guaranteed the continuance of the cult of the heroized (military) dead. Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 6-9, suggests that the annual ceremony in the fifth and fourth centuries was simply called the *agon epitaphios*, and that after a possible interruption in the third and early second centuries the festival was revived and given the more formal name of Epitaphia.

[65] Eugene Vanderpool, "Three Prize Vases," *Deltion* 24 (1969): 1-5, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-4. Also see P. Amandry, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos, I: Armes et lébès de bronze," *BCH* 115 (1971): 612-14. Accordingly, Diodorus' date has gained more acceptance than Jacoby's; for example, see Donald W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty Lists," App. I "Jacoby's Patrios Nomos," *CQ* 63 (1969) 154-55; N. G. L. Hammond, "Strategeia and Hegemonia in Fifth-Century Athens," *CQ* 63 (1969): 118, 142.

[66] Hesychius, s.v. 'επ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγών (ed. K. Latte, vol. 2) records a legend of funeral games for Androgeus, also called Euryges, in the Kerameikos (ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι

The Epitaphia may have been the festival at which the Funeral Oration of Pericles was delivered since he refers to it as a funeral held by ancestral custom (τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ) at public expense for the war dead in the early Peloponnesian War.[67] Games are not specifically mentioned but this is clearly a state ceremony for its war dead. Thus there is little doubt that in the aftermath of the Persian invasions Athens expanded its civic athletics to include games for the now heroized war dead.[68]

Anthesteria

A vegetation festival to Dionysus, the Anthesteria was concerned with the vintage and the dead but it also involved flowers and was in part a festival for children, who were presented with miniature painted wine jars.[69] The twelfth of Anthesterion was known as the Feast of the Choes or Wine-Jugs after a distinctively-shaped vase: "squat oinochoai with trefoil mouth and continuous curve from mouth to foot."[70] Some of these are full-sized but most are small and specially designed for children. On the basis of the connection between the festival and this pottery type, G. Van Hoorn has argued that the Anthesteria included many contests in honor of Dionysus.[71] Vase-paintings on choes depict *palaestra* scenes, wrestling, torch races, an

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ἐπιτάφιον Ἀθήνησι ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ). Travlos, *PDA*, 300, sees this as a reference to the custom of holding games in honor of the dead established early on in the Kerameikos, but there is no indication of state involvement in such games prior to the fifth century. See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 231; Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Literature," 76 and n. 86 on 43.

[67] Thuc. 2.34.1,5. Certainly the tradition continued for Demosthenes delivered such an address after Chaeronea (Dem. 20.141). An ephebic inscription of the late third century (see O.W. Reinmuth, "A New Ephebic Inscription from the Agora," *Hesp.* 43 (1974): 246-59 and J. Traill, "A Revision of *Hesperia* XLIII, 1974," *Hesp.* 45 (1976): 296-303), by restoration, may be the earliest reference to ephebes at the Epitaphia; but the Epitaphia is not definitely mentioned by name until second-century inscriptions record that ephebes held races in armor and torch races as part of the festival: *IG* II^2 1006.22, 1011.9; see Chr. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris, 1962), 235-36, 272-73. Brueckner, "Epitaphios Agon," 200-10, tried to show a connection between the Theseia and Epitaphia, but Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 230, rejects this for want of classical evidence.

[68] No proposer is mentioned but the reigning political figure was Themistocles; concern for tombs may have been part of a rebuilding and restoration program.

[69] The problematic evidence is discussed by G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1951) and Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 2nd ed., 1-25. As Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 213-26, 240-41, points out, Thuc. 2.15.4 notes that the name of the month Anthesterion was used throughout the entire Ionian region. Burkert (213) sees this as "one of the earliest attested of all Greek festivals," one occuring largely on the level of folk custom and making negligible demands on civic finances compared with the Panathenaea or Dionysia. For further bibliography, see Simon, *Festivals*, 95 n. 29.

[70] Van Hoorn, *Choes*, 15; for bibliography: Burkert, *Homo Necans*, n. 5 on 214.

[71] Van Hoorn, *Choes*, 33-35; also see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, App. 1, "Die Darstellungen der Choenkannen," 238-47.

apobates race, and cart and chariot races.[72] Van Hoorn suggests that the Anthesteria had an extensive program of events, but this lacks literary or epigraphical corroboration. Unlike the Panathenaic prize amphorae, these vases were gifts rather than official prizes; the shape of the choes refers to the Anthesteria but the vase-paintings themselves do not provide definite proof of a program of athletic games. Here the connection to Dionysus and the spirits of the dead may recall chthonic aspects of early games, but the evidence is not conclusive enough to declare that this festival definitely was part of the Athenian program of civic athletics.[73]

Olympieia

This festival of Olympian Zeus probably was instituted by Pisistratus when he laid the foundations for the Olympieion.[74] Pindar may allude to this festival when he says that Timodemos of Acharnae won a number of times beyond count at home in the games of Zeus.[75] Apparently this was especially a festival of the cavalry, and Plutarch refers to a procession by the cavalry during the festival to Zeus.[76] A sacrifice is known from the festival of 334/3, and an inscription of the third century records that the *anthippasia* contest was held at the Olympieia as well as the Great Panathenaea.[77] Although there is no definite proof of gymnastic *agones* as part of the Olympieia in the classical age, it is quite likely that equestrian games were part of the pre-Hellenistic festival—perhaps dating from Pisistratid origins.

Festivals of Herakles

The most famous festival to Herakles was at Marathon and games there are mentioned by Pindar.[78] An inscription of shortly after 490 records some of the procedure governing the selection of officials for the Herakleion games at Marathon; Vanderpool concludes that these games then officially were

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[72] Van Hoorn, *Choes*: *palaestra*, no. 737, pls. 133-34; wrestling, no. 368, pl. 132; torch, nos. 719, 197, 1, 902, 204, 360, pls. 118-22; *apobates*, nos. 611, 248 sept., pls. 611, 388f; cart and chariot, nos. 796, 667, 79, pls. 125-26. There are also a jug race (nos. 917, 334, pls. 123-24), a children's dog-cart race (nos. 366, 55, pls. 130-31), cock fights (nos. 649, 565, pls. 138-39) and other activities.

[73] Parke, *Festivals*, 183, regards the Anthesteria as another example of the nationalization of local cults. The state festival represents the taking over by the community of what originally had been the wine-grower's inauguration of his new wine.

[74] Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 177; Parke, *Festivals*, 144-45; Simon, *Festivals*, 15-16; on the temple: Wycherley, *Stones*, 155-66.

[75] Pind. *Nem.* 2.23; see A64 below.

[76] Plut. *Phoc.* 37.1; M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 150.

[77] *IG* II² 1496 A82; 3079.5-13.

[78] Pind. *Ol.* 9.89, 13.110, *Pyth.* 8.79; Susan Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica," in D.G. Mitten, ed., *Studies Presented to George Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), 211-20.

taken over and became Pan-Attic.[79] This Marathonian Herakleia possibly was the subject of an Aristotelian reference to a penteteric festival and of the suggestion by Demosthenes, aware of the threat of Philip, that the festival be transferred into the city.[80] However, Harpocration, commenting on the passage in Demosthenes, states that there was also a Herakleia at Kynosarges.[81] Although there is no extant proof of games to Herakles in Kynosarges itself, he was a god of the gymnasium for whom games here and elsewhere would be most appropriate.[82]

Eleusinia

As well as the Great Mysteries at Eleusis, there was a penteteric Eleusinia, which was also held every second year on a lesser basis.[83] This festival included athletic games said to be very ancient.[84] Evidently contests were held at Eleusis in the sixth century and Pindar records victories there.[85] Athenians definitely competed in these games, and Aristotle shows that Athenian *hieropoioi* made arrangements for the festival.[86] As part of his religious program Lycurgus improved the sanctuary at Eleusis and added a horse race to the customary contests of the festival.[87] Again, then, an originally regional festival was taken over or nationalized by Athens and incorporated into its program of civic athletics.

Skira and Oschophoria

There has been considerable confusion and debate over which festival

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[79] Eugene Vanderpool, "An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon," *Hesp.* 2 (1942): 333-37, lines 2-5. In this inscription ἀ[θλ|οθ]έτας can be restored but this probably refers to officials of the local Herakleia; see Nagy, "Athenian Athlothetai," n. 2 on 307.

[80] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7; Dem. *De Falsa Legatione* 125, καὶ τὰ Ἡράκλει' ἐν ἄστει θύειν.

[81] Harp. s.v. Ἡράκλεια; on Kynosarges, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 226-27; Parke, *Festivals*, 51-52.

[82] Games also were appropriate for Hermes (and for Theseus; Paus. 4.32.1) and we do hear of the Hermaia in the *palaestrae* (Aeschin. *In Tim.* 1.10,12; Pl. *Lysis* 206d-e); Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 217.

[83] In general, see George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961); Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 248-97 offers an intriguing interpretation of the rituals. On the Eleusinian Games: Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 91-92; and more recently Kevin Clinton, "*IG* I^2 5, The Eleusinia and the Eleusinians," *AJPhil.* 100 (1979): 1-12. Since the telesterion was rebuilt around the time of Pisistratus, perhaps the games were reorganized or nationalized at the same time.

[84] Aelius Aristides *Panathenaicus* 13.189.4-5.

[85] *IG* I^2 802, an inscribed leaden jumping weight perhaps of the early sixth century, was found at Eleusis, see A22 below. Pind. *Ol.* 9.99, 13.110; *Isth.* 1.57.

[86] See A39, A73, P87; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7.

[87] *IG* II^2 1672.258-61; Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens," 207. *SEG* XVI 55 (of 330/29) shows that the Eleusinian games were international and included equestrian, athletic and musical events.

celebrating the return of Theseus from Crete included the race and/or procession of the *oschophoroi.* Until recently the popular theory was that the Oschophoria (on seven Pyanopsion) included a procession with boughs of vine branches while the Skira to Athena Skiras involved a race.[88] This race was run by young men bearing vine branches from a sanctuary of Dionysus at Athens to one of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, with the prize being a drink called the "Fivefold" (*pentaploa*). Recently E. Kadletz, returning to the earlier position of Mommsen and also using the calendar relief in the church of Hagios Eleutherios at Athens, has argued that both the procession and the race were part of the Oschophoria. His argument, which accepts the race as athletic, requires the least textual manipulation and puts logically related acts together.[89] Of significance here is the probability that the race originated in an early agricultural ritual of the Salaminian clan and was imported to Athens in the sixth century; thus again Athens had taken over as a national festival another cult and festival formerly run by the clans.[90] Ritualistically similar to the torch race, this race contributed to the spectator appeal and diversity of the Athenian athletic program.

Trends in Athenian Athletic Activity

The following attempts to outline changes in the Athenian program of athletic and equestrian events and to investigate general trends in the athletic activities of the Athenians. Conclusions on the history of the athletic program and of the individual events are based on discussions of the evidence for individual events (see Appendix A). As well as literary and inscriptional sources, Athenian vase-paintings, if used cautiously, provide useful insights.[91]

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[88] Parke, *Festivals*, 77-81, 156-61; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 40-50, 142-47; Simon, *Festivals*, 89-91; L. Ziehen, s.v. Oschophoria, *PW* XVIII 2 (1942), 1537-43. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 143-49, sees the Skira festival as a ritual of dissolution in the last month of the year and draws a parallel to the Boedromia. For a collection and discussion of testimonia: *FGrH* 328 F14, 3b (Suppl.), Volume 1, 286-305. On the race: Aristodemus the Theban, *FGrH* 383 F9 (= Ath. 11.495f), who creates the problem by assigning the race to the Skira; Schol. on Nikandr. *Alex.* 169 and Proclus *Chrest.* (Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 332 A13). While most scholars see the Oschophoria as a festival of Athena Skiras, Simon (91-92) argues that it was a thanksgiving to Dionysus for the vintage.

[89] Edward Kadletz, "The Race and Procession of the Athenian Oschophoroi," *GRBS* 21 (1980): 363-71, sees the Oschophoria as a "doublet"—the race and procession being slightly different repetitions of the same ritual of bringing grapes to Athena Skiras (as a renamed version of an old agricultural goddess).

[90] W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesp.* 7 (1938): 1-74; also see *FGrH* 3b (Suppl.) Volume 1, 286-305. A.G. Ward, ed., *Quest for Theseus*, 151, places the nationalizing of the festival shortly after the fall of Pisistratus.

[91] This section is heavily indebted to Webster, *Potter and Patron*, especially his chapters 11, 14 and 15. The standard reference collections again are *ABV*, *ARV*^{2} and *Paralipomena*. Also useful are John Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, The Archaic Period* (London, 1975) and R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London, 1960). B. Legakis, "Athletic Contests in Archaic

As explained earlier, only a Panathenaic prize amphora is sound ceramic evidence that an event was held in the Panathenaea. The vast corpus of non-Panathenaic, Attic painted pottery has been made accessible by modern handbooks and surveys, but the depiction of athletic activity on an Attic pot does not necessarily prove that the activity actually occurred or that it took place at Athens. Obviously the impressive number of Attic vases with athletic scenes—some with inscriptions traceable to known Athenians—[92] shows that athletics were a popular part of the life of Athens. Although one should not rely heavily on small groups or individual pots, the general corpus of athletic vase-paintings and changes within this body may reflect broad changes in Athenian practices or tastes.

What can be said about Athens' official athletic program from Panathenaic amphorae and other sound evidence? The exact program of events of the Panathenaea of 566 is uncertain, but the evidence of the Panathenaic prize amphorae suggests that the program expanded through the mid-sixth century, and that in the last quarter of that century Athens housed an array of events as extensive as at Olympia.[93] While the Olympic Games may have served initially as a model, the Athenian program became distinctive with torch, *synoris* and *apobates* races, and also by offering prizes for team events and for more than first place.

Athens' athletic program expanded in the fifth century with the Theseia and Epitaphia but little is known specifically about the events in festivals other than the Panathenaea. According to the testimonia for wrestling, the *pentathlon* and boxing, age classes increased from men's in the sixth, to men's and boys' in the fifth, and to men's, boys' and youths' by the fourth century. Although some torch and boat races are questionably athletic, some were held in association with athletic programs. Torch races were much more numerous and boat races less attested than one might expect. While torch races may have predated civic athletics, boat races appear to be late developments (ca. late fifth century).[94]

Greek Art," (Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1977) attempts to give a complete catalogue of representations of athletics (gymnastic events only) as well as a study of the development of the depictions of various contests. His catalogue is quite valuable but his focus is more on art than history; he tends to accept specific dates for vases and to fit them in a tight chronological order. He does not discuss his criteria for classifying vases as Panathenaic or prize amphorae, and he tends to accept *kalos* names as referring directly to the athletes in the vase-paintings.

[92] For instance, A.E. Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 155-64, establishes connections between athletic monuments and some *kalos* names on vases.

[93] Legakis, "Archaic Art," 370-79, concludes that representations on "Panathenaic" vases of 570-540 included only running events and the *pentathlon*, that by 540-510 wrestling, boxing and the *hoplitodromos* were added, and that by 510-480 a complete range of events including the *pankration* was depicted. One must add that the sixth-century Panathenaea also included the horse race, *synoris*, chariot race, torch race and perhaps the *apobates* race.

[94] On torch and boat races, part of numerous festivals but sometimes more ritualistic or formal than athletic, see Appendix A.

The fifth century saw expansion with the addition of new classes and festivals, but the official Athenian program changed little until the introduction of new military events in the late fifth and fourth centuries.[95] It is interesting that military influence on Athenian athletics is more prominent as a late than as an early phenomenon. The *apobates* and *synoris* were hardly militarily appropriate even in the sixth century, and the *hoplitodromos* seems to have gone in and out of fashion (like the pyrrhic dance) before reappearing on prize amphorae in the second half of the fourth century. Lycurgus and the *ephebeia* probably fostered the race in armor but by this time it too was more sensational than militarily valuable.

Concern for the cavalry is obvious in the "war horse" events of ca. 380,[96] and the contest for javelin on horseback—listed with the war horse events on *IG* II^2 2311—suggests that new cavalry-style events came in very late in the fifth century. The *anthippasia* confirms that definitely military events were held by the first half of the fourth century. It is probable but unproven that only citizens participated in the war horse and javelin events prior to the Hellenistic age when military *agones* became very elaborate[97]. Thus, although the cavalry and *ephebeia* affect Athenian *agones* from the fourth century onward, military events represent additions rather than replacements in the Athenian athletic program.

How do trends in the representations of athletics in the general vase-painting corpus correlate with the above outline of Athens' athletic program? Certainly vase-paintings suggestive of athletics antedate civic athletics at Athens; representations of boxers and other athletes are found on Geometric and Proto-Attic works, but on these early vases the reference is probably to funeral games or legends. The earliest unambiguous and numerous indications of athletics appear on black-figure works in the first half of the sixth century, indicating an increasing interest in athletics.[98] Non-prize black-figure vases of the middle two quarters of the sixth century show a few stock athletic scenes such as wrestling, footraces and the discus,[99] and the variety

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[95] A reorganization of the Panathenaea perhaps very early in the fourth century is suggested by the elaborate program and the publication of the prize list ca. 380, by the introduction of at least the javelin on horseback, and by the sudden appearance of the names of eponymous archons on the prize vases: see G. R. Edwards, "Pananthenaics of Hellenistic and Roman Times," *Hesp.* 26 (1957): 337 n. 59. Beazley, *Development*, 96-98, suggests a date of 392/1 for the earliest Panathenaic with an archon's name. The change in direction of Athena from facing left to right between 359 and 348 may reflect further changes in the program or simply an artistic innovation.

[96] The Parthenon frieze suggests that the cavalry took part in the fifth-century Panathenaea but not necessarily in games; Parke, *Festivals*, 43.

[97] Gardiner, *GASF*, 236; M. A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 235.

[98] Beazley, *Development*, 22.

[99] Boardman, *Black Figure*, 211, regards these as genre scenes with no specific association.

of scenes increases in the last quarter of the sixth century as red-figure develops. While early black-figure vases tend to show single events and depict scenes of competition, black-figure vases of the second quarter of the sixth century, and especially red-figure vases thereafter, show groups of athletes in "*palaestra* scenes"—scenes of practice.[100] Thus through the sixth century Attic vase-paintings suggest a trend to expanded athletic activity, possibly with a simultaneous development of athletic facilities.

Athletes provide the largest single class of scenes from everyday life in archaic Attic red-figure. These show an increasing interest in anatomy, which leads to improvements in technique; the nakedness of youths in the *palaestrae* perhaps inspired artists.[101] The full range of events, similar to the Olympic program, was depicted by the late sixth and persisted through the fifth century. It is uncertain what proportions of these vases were produced for export or ended up on the resale market. Athletic scenes appear mainly on symposium and prize vases, and to a lesser degree on dedicatory and funerary works.

Webster correctly sees a victory in the athletic games as a cause for celebration leading to commissions of pottery for the symposium and perfume vases for dedication.[102] The list of scenes of victorious athletes starts early in the sixth century with a cup by the C painter, showing a victor and a tripod, with Nike on the inside.[103] Here and later the significance of Nike is uncertain and the tripod may mean merely "prize." The works of the early sixth century probably refer to victories by Athenians in foreign games, but scenes of victory recur through the fifth and fourth centuries and many must refer to domestic wins. It is significant that of 127 vases with scenes of victory (excluding Panathenaics) collected by Webster, 115 of these appear to be symposium vases.[104] The patrons who ordered such vases in the classical era presumably would have been men of means who celebrated victories in the Panhellenic Games as well as in the civic athletic competitions at Athens.

Within the main body of vases with athletic scenes, there is a large class with general representations of athletes, often at rest. The figures are distinguished as athletes "... by strigil and aryballos, sometimes taking off their cloaks, sometimes washing at a laver, sometimes indicated by the stele or pillar at their side, sometimes by a herm, or the presence of a trainer."[105] This class starts in early sixth-century black-figure and continues

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[100] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 196; Legakis, "Archaic Art," 373-79; S. Karouzou, "Scènes de Palestre," *BCH* 86 (1962): 430-66..

[101] Boardman, *Red Figure*, 220.

[102] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 152.

[103] Beazley, *ABV*, 51 no. 1.

[104] See Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 152-56.

[105] *Ibid.*, 208.

through all periods of red-figure. A large number of lekythoi are noticeable in black-figure within this general class,[106] but the numbers in red-figure are not striking. It is possible that early athletic aristocrats of Athens ordered symposium vases to celebrate youthful victories and later ordered lekythoi for funerals with scenes recalling a significant aspect of their early lives.

From the sixth to the fourth centuries the general ceramic evidence reflects a shift in popularity (through black- to red-figure) from horse and chariot scenes to general athletic scenes.[107] Paintings of horsemen decline from 437 examples in black-figure to 287 in red-figure, while scenes of athletes greatly increase from 199 in black to 1371 in red-figure.[108] Since these totals exclude Panathenaic prizes and the fourth-century miniature Panathenaics, they reflect popular trends and interests rather than the official programs of the Panathenaea and other festivals. Similarly, although chariots were a stock scene in late sixth- and early fifth-century black-figure, they appear on only 22 red-figure pieces.[109] The explanation of the decrease in numbers of equestrian and chariot scenes may combine economic considerations and agonistic inclinations.

The general pottery evidence and historical studies agree that Athens in the second half of the sixth century housed mounted hoplites and true cavalry (Thessalian-type, unarmored).[110] Probably the Pisistratids kept cavalry at Athens;[111] but cavalry seems to decline after the tyranny, and the battle of Marathon was fought by unsupported infantry. The Athenian cavalry revived after the Persian Wars with a corps of 300, and by 431 the force was raised to 1000.[112] The general pottery corpus reflects a shift in the dominant type of cavalryman at Athens. The mounted hoplite was common in mid-sixth-century black-figure; but later in the first half of the fifth-century,

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[106] C.H.E. Haspels has classified some black-figure examples under "*palaestra*": *ABL* 207 lekythoi nos. 41, 77, 98, 99, 183, 217; 217 lekythoi nos. 34-35, 53; and 234 lekythos no. 38.

[107] Although red-figure started to replace black-figure around 530 the two styles overlap for about sixty years and this period of overlap accounts for nearly half of the red-figure examples. Hence inferences from the technique in which a scene appears must be made cautiously. On the shifting popularity of gymnastic and equestrian events as indicated by numbers of known competitors, see below p. 110ff.

[108] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 214-15, comments on his calculations:

> ... partly this must be a change of interest and partly perhaps the increased expense of keeping horses; it may be that if you are rich enough to keep a horse, you are also rich enough to have decorated metal symposion ware and so cease to buy special pots for the symposion.

[109] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 193.

[110] *Ibid.*, 184-88; P.A.L. Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare* (Cambridge, 1973), 111-18, 148-50.

[111] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.5.

[112] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.3; J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley, 1961), 129-30. For early studies of cavalry at Athens, see M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, and W. Helbig, *Les hippeis athéniens* (Paris, 1902).

with Leagros and his son, the youth with the Thracian cloak—the cavalryman of the newer age—is the popular type.[113] The Peloponnesian War may have demonstrated further the value of cavalry, and by the fourth century Xenophon and Aristotle reveal that the Athenian cavalry was highly organized and popular.[114]

A comparison of the insights from the general pottery corpus and from the Panathenaics shows the value and limitations of each as evidence. Both testify to the growth of Athenian athletic activity in the sixth century with the appearance of *palaestra* scenes, increasing representations of athletics, and an official series of prize amphorae. Both suggest Athens' pride in her distinctive athletics with their flair for varied and crowd-pleasing events. Both reflect an increase in the influence of the cavalry and military concerns in the fourth century. However, while the general corpus implies a decrease in footracing through the fifth century, such events remain prominent on prize vases and in records of victors.[115] The general corpus may show a decrease in scenes of horse and chariot races, but Panathenaic amphorae continue to depict these frequently.

On the declining numbers of athletic and equestrian scenes in the late fifth century Webster suggests that athletes no longer celebrated with specially commissioned pottery and the status of potter and patron was lowered.[116] The fifth-century sufferings of the aristocracy, so intimately connected with early athletics, would have eliminated many former purchasers of those symposium vases and lekythoi with agonistic scenes. Although an overall decrease in athletic activity is suggested for the fourth century by Athenian vase-paintings in general, prize amphorae and *IG* II^2 2311 reveal not a reduced but rather an expanded program with more events and classes. In sum, the Panathenaics prove that certain events were held on an official basis but they cannot reveal the popularity of an event or the number of competitors. On the other hand, the general corpus indicates broad shifts in athletic and aesthetic tastes but cannot prove that specific events were held, retained or discontinued in the official program.

Conclusion

Athens was not the athletic leader of Greece but athletics were a significant part of Athenian civic life, and Athenian athletics were as distinctive as the

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113 Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 184-88.

114 Greenhalgh, *Early Greek Warfare*, 4, 147; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49.2, 61.4-5; Xen. *Hipp.* 1.11-12 and *passim*.

115 These conclusions concerning the introduction and retention of events are corroborated by the prosopographical study of Athenian athletes; see Appendix B.

116 Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 215, 300.

city itself.[117] While the games of the Periodos were held in Panhellenic sanctuaries, Athenian athletics took place in—and interacted with—the dynamic *polis* of the Athenians. Athenian athletics were necessarily "political": they were influenced by the growth and development of the city, and they were politically significant as a very popular and visible aspect of Athenian life. When Athens advanced from unofficial to civic athletics in the sixth century, the external climate was right and the models of the *Periodos* were at hand, but civic athletics prospered at Athens when they did largely because of internal developments and factors.

Once introduced, civic athletics grew with the city and they complemented each other. Yet it is important not to concentrate only on the Panathenaea; other less acclaimed festivals included athletics and suggested the persistence of an athletic connection with hero and funeral cults. It is important also to recognize that this early tradition continued after 566, and more significantly that Athens in a brilliant and distinctive manner encompassed this tradition within its civic athletics. Athens nationalized its cultic and regional athletics, placing them under civic supervision, attaching them to civic heroes from epic and from war, and directing athletic energies to the glory of the state.[118] Such procedures were begun by Pisistratus, continued by Kimon, and rejuvenated by Lycurgus. Like the festivals, Athenian athletic events were diverse and their history shows a combination of conservatism and adaptation. Old ritualistic or Olympic-style events were retained even as newer ones with spectator appeal or with an increasing military flavor were added. The athletic life of Athens matured with the city itself, and it made a significant contribution to the pride and community consciousness of the Athenians.

Athens' strong civic concern and involvement in athletics is reflected in the Panathenaea and its prizes. Like the athletic program itself, the Panathenaic amphorae, as valuable and symbolic prizes, were visual stimuli to civic pride and community consciousness. Preparations for the games and prizes involved civic officials on many levels—from archons to liturgical gymnasiarchs—over four-year periods. The events involved various age groups, tribes and individuals, and, as we shall see, also many topographical parts of the city. Games continued even in times of stress, and Athenian athletics grew even as the city itself became eclipsed.

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[117] Cf. Gardiner, *GASF*, 227: "Athens was not the most athletic of the states of Greece; but nowhere was the love of festivals more developed, and nowhere were competitions more various and more numerous."

[118] The Athenian policy continued and was applied to areas under Athenian influence; after the purification of Delos (426/5) the Athenians established a penteteric festival with games including horse races (Thuc. 3.104). The earlier Delian Games (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 149-50) had lapsed.

Although Pisistratus fostered sport in several ways, from 566 to the Persian Wars the history of Athenian athletics was mainly that of the Panathenaic Games; and the Persian Wars left Athens, flushed with patriotism, in a leading position in Greece. From ca. 479 Athens celebrated the Epitaphia, a national festival of the heroized dead including games with official prizes. The praise of Athens as "the school of Hellas,"[119] put in the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides, probably was typical of the sentiment of the Epitaphia. Around 475 Kimon returned "the bones of Theseus" and Athens added the Theseia to its athletic program, elevating it from what had been a gentilician cult of the Phytalidai. This political manipulation of the myth of Theseus was probably a democratic version of Pisistratus' earlier use of Athena. The institution of the civic hero cult was mutually attractive and beneficial to Kimon and Athens, and by Hellenistic times the Theseia was especially the festival of the ephebes.

Although the Panathenaea remained the showplace of Athens, athletic *agones* were spread throughout the civic calendar as lesser cults were deliberately made into state cults. The Genesia, once the private clan festival to the dead fathers, was taken over by the state (perhaps as early as Solon) and may have included games. Choes from the Anthesteria to Dionysus suggest that athletics were part of this official form of an early vine-growers' celebration. The Oschophoria with its ritualistic race was taken over by the state from the Salaminians. Athens, when it suited her interests, even adopted foreign festivals such as the Bendidia with its spectacle of a torch race on horseback. The Olympieia developed from probably a Pisistratid creation into a festival involving games for the cavalry. Several torch and boat races supplemented the various festivals, and Athens also supervised extra-urban games such as those at Marathon. In the late fourth century and under the care of Lycurgus the increasing ties between athletics and Athenian educational and military life anticipate Hellenistic trends.

The Athenian program of athletic festivals developed elaborately from Panhellenic models and precursors in funerary and hero cults, but a *polis*-orientation was increasingly a common feature. The significance of the games at Athens was *festive* and *athletic*: they were to celebrate and glorify the city and its gods and heroes, and to satisfy the agonistic inclinations of the Athenians directly by competition and vicariously by observation. Just as the Panathenaea—in myth and in the sixth-century motivation behind its success—was a festival of unity, Athenian athletics overall reminded the citizens of the shared glory of Athens.[120]

[119] Thuc. 2.41.1.

[120] G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (Princeton, 1960), 353, comments on the importance of festivals to a *polis*. Festivals were civic in being administered by civic officials and in constituting a regular part of civic life. Moreover, "They were civic also in a deeper sense, as powerful agencies in promoting unity of feeling among citizens and in fostering the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to their native land."

CHAPTER THREE

ATHLETIC FACILITIES

As ancient sports developed from informal games into organized, competitive athletics a need arose for specific athletic facilities, such as gymnasia and stadia, as well as naturally suitable sites. Primitive facilities developed from functional needs but their expansion and elaboration often involved non-athletic factors. The facilities in which athletes trained and competed were significant for Athenian topography and civic life, and their history contributes to a better understanding of Athenian athletics overall. Herein "athletic facility" applies to any site, with or without architectural embellishment, that was the location, occasionally or regularly, of athletics in either the preparatory or competitive stage. The main focus is on public facilities: buildings and sites that served athletic functions, were open to the public, and were civically controlled or financed. Facilities owned and operated by private individuals are considered only briefly.

Surveying classical Greek athletic facilities, H. A. Harris explains that:

> The buildings needed for Greek athletics were the stadium, the practice track (*dromos*), the palaestra or wrestling school and the bath-house. The stadium was used for competition proper, the practice track by athletes training for running, jumping, throwing or boxing, and the palaestra by wrestlers and pancratiasts. The bath-house was a necessary appendage, for a bath was a regular part of the training routine.[1]

Certainly such practice and competitive facilities existed in Athens and deserve treatment; but in addition, because this study includes equestrian events, the Athenian hippodrome is of interest. Furthermore, while Harris refers only to *buildings* specifically designed for athletics, it must be recognized that the earliest athletic facilities at Athens and elsewhere existed with little or no architectural construction. At Athens literary and ceramic evidence for athletics predates any physical remains of gymnasia or stadia, and thus the question of the earliest site of Athenian athletics is a difficult one. Few public works at Athens predate 561,[2] but this does not disprove the prior existence of "athletic facilities." Also, certain classical sites not primarily devoted to athletics, such as the Panathenaic Way, were used at times for athletic events, and thus qualify as occasional if not regular athletic facilities.

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[1] Harris, *GAA*, 136, in "The Buildings for Greek Athletics," 136-50.

[2] Boersma, *ABP*, ix.

Athletics and the Agora

Most discussions of ancient athletics, as well as describing non-Athenian or post-classical examples, normally focus on gymnasia and stadia; but R. Martin points out the agonistic functions of the Greek agora—that "expression matérielle de la communauté politique"—in archaic and classical times.[3] In fact, various clues and a theory by H. A. Thompson suggest that the Agora was the original home of Athenian athletics.[4] The following discussion collects evidence and arguments to indicate that in the eighth and seventh centuries the Agora was a regular site of athletic activity probably related to funeral cults, that in the sixth and fifth centuries it was the site of occasional athletic competitions related to civic cults and festivals, and that the fourth-century Agora housed athletic competitions of a markedly equestrian and military nature. This persistence of athletics in the Agora, the functional heart of Athens, affirms the intimate connection between Athens' civic and athletic history.

To the north of the Acropolis and Areopagus, the Agora of classical Athens had an interesting history as a civic centre.[5] The "earliest Agora," if interpreted as the centre of the earliest settlement at Athens dating from Neolithic times, lay to the southeast of the Acropolis, but little is known about it.[6] With the growth of the city and its needs, the Agora was extended and shifted north to the level area east of Kolonos Agoraios, an area previously used for early graves, private houses, and possibly meetings.[7] The shift took place around 600 when levelling operations (perhaps associated with Solon's reforms) in this part of the Kerameikos or Potter's Quarter suggest its development as a public place for community life.[8]

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[3] Roland Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque* (Paris, 1951), "La fonction agônale," 202-23.

[4] H.A. Thompson, "The Panathenaic Festival," *Arch. Anz.* 76 (1961): 224-31.

[5] See *Agora XIV*; Boersma, *ABP*, no. XXXVI; and Travlos, *PDA*, 1-27, fig. 722.

[6] Al.N. Oikonomides, *The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens* (Chicago, 1964), vii-xix, 1-50, feels that the classical Agora also was preceded by an earlier one, "the Agora in the Old Town," at the entrance to the Acropolis in the area enclosed by the Pelargikon wall. Thucydides' discussion of early Athens (2.15.3-6) makes no mention of such an agora; see R.E. Wycherley, "Archaia Agora," *Phoenix* 20 (1966): 285-93.

[7] The earliest house found in the Agora dates to the mid-eighth century; D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," *Hesp.* 2 (1933): 542-51. The changing ratio of wells to graves in late Geometric times suggests a shift from funereal to domestic use of the Agora; see E. Brann, *Agora VIII*, plate 45. Stephen G. Miller, *Prytaneion* (Berkeley, 1978), 52-53, relates this shift and a possibly eighth- or early seventh-century Prytaneion to the completion of the synoecism of Attica. For a different explanation, see John McK. Camp II, "A Drought in the Late Eighth Century B.C.," *Hesp.* 48 (1979): 397-411.

[8] On the levelling H.A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora, 1960-65," *Hesp.* 35 (1966): 45. Al. N. Oikonomides, "Herodotus V 89 and the Transfer-Date of the Athenian Agora at Kerameikos," *AncW* 4 (1981): 35-37, down-dates the shift to the new Agora to 479 and credits it to the Persian destruction, but most scholars favor a date around 600: Travlos, *PDA*, 2; Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 19-20.

An open, flat region free of major buildings, the new Agora had ample room for new official establishments and various public activities. Throughout the sixth and fifth centuries the Agora progressed as a religious and civic centre, sacked by the Persians but reconstructed by Kimon and Pericles.[9] The Agora developed functionally but remained architecturally informal as a simple, tree-lined square comparable to a "village green." Accessible and suitably level, the Agora was an ideal place for exercises and athletics.[10] In classical times the Athenian gymnasia lay beyond the Agora and the city walls, but in later times the suitability of the Agora for athletic facilities is shown by the establishment of gymnasia within (the Diogeneion and Gymnasium of the Giants) and near the Agora (the Ptolemaion).[11] The topography and centrality of the Agora, and its involvement in civic life, suggest a connection between it and the rising interest in athletics at Athens.

A general theory of a Greek development from funeral cults to civic competitions in the agora seems applicable to Athens. R. Martin presents the Greek agora as crucial, physically and spiritually, to the collective life of a *polis*.[12] He credits the agora with agonistic functions due to its double role first as a religious centre and later also as a political gathering place: the agora was the site of early agonistic activity related to religion and funeral cults and of later agonistic activity related to civic cults and political festivals.[13] H. A. Thompson makes a similar argument concerning funeral games, hero cults and the rise of Athenian athletics in the Agora.[14] He points to the existence of Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric and Geometric graves beneath the Agora, the prominence of chariot-race scenes on late-Geometric vases from Athenian graves, and the discovery of seventh-century terracotta representations of chariot groups and horsemen and a miniature bronze tripod

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9 *Agora XIV*, 20-24; Boersma, *ABP*, 15, 23; Judeich, *Topog.*, 62, 428-57; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora*, 255-78.

10 R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, 1969), 147.

11 A later piece of evidence suggesting Agora-gymnasium connections is a Hellenistic inscription which may refer to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy; see Diskin Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 46 (1977): 259-67. H. A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 37 (1968): 38-41, suggested the existence of a pre-Hellenistic gymnasium in the Agora from the discovery of a pair of poros water basins, but he has since withdrawn the suggestion.

12 R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora*, 8: "En même temps, en effet, qu'une forme architecturale, l'agora est une idée, une notion, un élément essentiel de la cité, de la *polis*, cette valeur politique qui règle les modalités de la vie collective du monde grec. L'agora est à la fois forme et esprit."

13 *Ibid.*, 202-23. Early references to athletics in agoras include Hom. *Od.* 8.120-384 at Phaeacia. The Gymnopaideia festival at Sparta (Paus. 3.11.9) is a later example.

14 Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 227-31; Travlos, *PDA*, 2; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora*, 194-201. The theory of funerary origins of athletics at Athens is discussed on p. 15ff. above; the concern here is the location.

(votive deposits appropriate to the heroized dead) from the Agora.[15] He concludes that chariot races were part of funeral games in early Athens, and that there was a relationship between the graves, offerings to the heroized dead and equestrian events held in the Agora in the eighth and seventh centuries.[16] Thompson further suggests that funeral games persisted after their establishment; and, with the development of community consciousness, the games became associated with a patron deity. Thus festivals arose, gymnastic events were added to the early equestrian games, and the whole program took place in the Agora.

A possible parallel development seems to have occurred at Corinth. O. Broneer has associated the cult of the dead with contests apparently held on the racecourse in the "agora" at Corinth. He points to an early cemetery in the southern region of the area, a small sanctuary established there in the sixth century (perhaps dedicated to the dead when Corinth began to develop the area), a deposit of terracottas very appropriate to a hero cult, and the starting lines in the middle of the agora near which he detects wheel ruts indicating the use of chariots in the area.[17]

Such arguments attractively suggest funerary origins for athletics in the Athenian Agora with later additions of more civic cults. Since it was a former graveyard, and graves seem to have been revered in later ages, the Agora may have been the site of athletic activity in the eighth and seventh centuries, perhaps related to honoring the dead. In the classical age the Agora definitely had a strong association with hero cults of an increasingly civic nature.[18] Since cults of civic benefactors and founders predominated in the later Agora,

[15] Burials continued there until the end of the seventh century; see *Agora XIV*, 8-9 and pl. 2; Rodney S. Young, "Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh-Century Well in the Agora," *Hesp.* Suppl. 1 (1939): 56-57, 218. On disturbed graves treated with piety and reverence, including votive deposits with terracotta chariot groups, see H. A. Thompson, "A Favissa in the North Central Part of the Agora," *Hesp.* 27 (1958): 148-53; D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," *Hesp.* 2 (1933): 614-21, 636-40.

[16] Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 119-21, reinforce the argument with further examples of reverence of the sites of early graves in the Agora involving votive deposits and the covering over again of disturbed graves. For further examples, C. K. Williams, *Hesp.* 38 (1969): 49, 52 and *Hesp.* 39 (1970): 1-2. For further suggestions of minor heroons in the Agora, see *Agora XIV*, 120, and the discussion by Gerald V. Lalonde, "A Hero Shrine in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 49 (1980): 98-105.

[17] Oscar Broneer, "Hero-Cults in the Corinthian Agora," *Hesp.* 11 (1942): 128-61; *Agora XIV*, 121.

[18] See *Agora XIV*, 124-26; *Agora III*, 339-62. According to Psausanias (1.17.2) and Plutarch (*Thes.* 36.2) the Theseion, home of a founder-cult of increasing popularity in the sixth and fifth centuries, was in the middle of Athens near the Agora and the Ptolemaion, but the location is uncertain; cf. Travlos, *PDA*, 578-79. The Altar of the Eponymous Heroes, related to the ancestor cults artificially created for the Athenian tribes, stood in the Agora; see *Agora XIV*, 388-41 and *Agora III*, 229-45. Statues of the Tyrannicides (see Arist. *Rh.* 1.9.38 (1368a); *Agora XIV*, 155-60 and *Agora III*, nos 256-80) and Solon (see Paus. 1.16.1; *Agora XIV*, 159, *Agora III*, nos. 80, 709-10) represent benefactor cults.

funeral games perhaps followed the graves to the outer Kerameikos, but apparently athletics and hero cults had an early and continuing relationship with the Agora.

In the Agora the Panathenaic Way, being level and wide, was suitable for processions and athletics.[19] The route of the Panathenaic procession along the Way from the Dipylon to the Acropolis was traditionally known as the "*dromos*", and the agonistic connotations of such a designation provide a linguistic clue to the presence of athletics in the Agora.[20] J. Travlos argues that the Panathenaic *dromos* was the scene of athletics on the basis of the three archaic inscriptions from the Acropolis discussed earlier.[21] He concludes that these refer to the early Panathenaea, and that a board of men had charge of the construction and repair of a racecourse in the Agora. Unfortunately *dromos* is a general term and even if it refers to Travlos' racetrack (rather than Raubitschek's race) no topographical reference is made. Nevertheless, a racecourse on the early Panathenaic Way is quite likely for the sixth century. Torch-racers ran along the Way en route to the Acropolis from altars in the Academy. Later, Aristophanes pictures a Panathenaic torch-racer abused by spectators as he ran near the Dipylon.[22]

Definite physical proof of athletics in the Agora—and significantly the earliest physical remains of any Athenian athletic facility—came to light in 1974 from the section of the Panathenaic Way at the northwest corner of the Agora. A row of five square limestone bases spaced at even intervals was found *in situ* across the line of the street.[23] Evidently the bases were placed so that their tops rose slightly above the surface of the road, and in the centre of each was an unleaded, square socket in which an upright post could be anchored as a non-permanent fixture. At the west end of the row is a circular pit from which a round base obviously had been removed. These bases date roughly to the mid-fifth century; they remained in use through

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[19] On the Panathenaic Way, see *Agora XIV*, 192; Boersma, *ABP*, no. 15; and Travlos, *PDA*, 422-28, 579-80, figs. 29-31. A late fourth-century inscription confirms the name and route: *Agora III*, no. 729. Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 194, comment that the unusual width of the Way was appropriate to its arterial importance, and it was also needed for special occasions such as the Panathenaea.

[20] For the *dromos* reference: Himerios *Oratio* 3.12, *Agora III*, no. 1. Similarly, at Sparta one of the streets from the agora was called Aphetais or the Street of the Starting-Post (Paus. 3.12.1), and in Elis the agora was called the Hippodrome (Paus. 6.24.2). R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora*, 220-21, suggests that equestrian games at Elis began as a funeral cult, and later the equestrian nature of the agora was taken over by training for the Olympic Games.

[21] See above, p. 26ff.

[22] Ar. *Ran.* 1093.

[23] T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Panathenaic Way," *Hesp.* 44 (1975): 362-65; for the location, see Map A (= *Hesp.* 53 (1984) fig. 2). The bases measure ca. 47 m. square by .38 m. deep with sockets .12 m. square and .12 m. deep; they are spaced regularly at a distance of 1.85 m. from centre to centre, leaving 1.38 m. between bases—quite sufficient room for a runner, as I noted upon examination.

two resurfacings of the street until they were covered and put out of use in the late fifth century.[24]

Apparently these bases were spaced with relation to the neighbouring Altar of the Twelve Gods, and there is room for five more bases between the altar and the pit. Hence the line had spaces for ten runners, perhaps one for each Attic tribe. This "... single line of bases supporting a temporary barrier which extended about 20 metres across the Panathenaic Way ..." reminds T. Leslie Shear Jr. of the starting line of a racetrack with its characteristic sockets for insertion of the light wooden apparatus for the starting gate. He suggests that in the second half of the fifth century the running events of the Panathenaea began at this line and continued south across the very centre of the market square.[25]

Although the commonest Greek starting line, of which post-classical examples have been found at each site of the Periodos, was a long stone sill with spaced sockets for posts and with rows of grooves for the toes of the runners,[26] a close parallel in form to the Athenian line does exist. In the earlier (fourth century) of the two lines in the stadium at Priene a simple row of eight isolated, square stone slabs are set into the ground, each with a square hole in its centre evidently intended to hold a post.[27] Although later in date and found in the stadium rather than the agora, this discovery from Priene confirms the use of isolated bases as a starting line.[28] Furthermore,

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[24] *Ibid.*, 363 n. 66. Stratigraphic evidence suggests that the bases were probably set down in layer 14 (BΓ 677) of the second half of the fifth century, remained in use through two resurfacings of the street, and were covered and put out of use by layer 11 (lot BΓ 673) of the late fifth century. Since Athens was sacked by the Persians in 480, these bases may have replaced some earlier arrangement.

[25] Shear, *Ibid.*, 362-63, points out that excavations have shown that wheeled traffic was debarred from entry into the Agora throughout the fifth century at its northwest corner. Only later in the fourth century did the *dromos* in the Agora become and remain an important thoroughfare. The line of the bases is oriented almost exactly east to west and is not at right angles to the diagonal course of the processional road, as would seem natural if its purpose were simply to prohibit traffic. However, the original Panathenaic Way ran slightly further to the west of its Hellenistic position as usually restored on maps; cf. H.A. Thompson, "Activity in the Athenian Agora, 1960-65," *Hesp.* 35 (1966): 45-46. The raceway from the bases, on a slightly different orientation, would cross the natural middle of the Agora stopping roughly 600 feet to the south in front of the South Stoa.

[26] On starting lines, see H.A. Harris, "Stadia and Starting Grooves," *G&R* 7 (1960): 25-35; S.G. Miller, "Turns and Lanes in the Ancient Stadium," *AJArch.* 84 (1980); 159-66; O. Broneer, *Isthmia II* (Princeton, 1974), 46-66, App. II, "ΒΑΛΒΙΣ, ΥΣΠΛΗΞ, ΚΑΜΠΤΕΡ," 137-42.

[27] T.L. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene Ergebnisse* (Berlin, 1904), 261-62, figs. 262, 264; Harris, *SGR*, 28-29, pl. 21; G.E. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* (New York and Washington, 1966), 207-09; cf. M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene* (Berlin, 1934), 85.

[28] Noting that running tracks at Didyma and Miletus (as well as Athens and Priene), in their original phases, had separate stone bases rather than continuous stone sills, S.G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's *AAW*, 1978, pp. x-xi, wonders if these may represent an ethnic (Ionic here) variation in athletic practice or whether they were ritual in character. See A. von Gerkan, *Milet II*, ed. T. Wiegand (Berlin, 1922), 6-9; T. Wiegand, *Didyma I* (Berlin, 1941), 140-41; Bean, *Aegean Turkey*, 229, 242-43; Miller, "Turns and Lanes," 163.

parallels in location (*dromos* in agora) can be noted at Corinth and Argos.[29] The bases thus provide sound and suitable evidence for the use of the fifth-century Agora as an occasional athletic facility.[30] Overall the simplicity of the arrangement suited early Greek athletic facilities, and it would have been ideal for this particular racecourse since it was situated in the heart of Athens and used only periodically. Moreover, this early athletic site, found in downtown Athens near an altar, represents a characteristic blend of civic and religious aspects in Athenian athletics.[31]

For the fourth century there is evidence of agonistic, military-flavored events in the Agora often involving the "Herms." These dedicatory statues, many of them housed in the Stoa of the Herms built in the northwestern section of the Agora, seem to have played an important part in the exercises and ceremonial rides of the Athenian cavalry.[32] Earlier vase scenes link the Herms in the Agora with cavalry and horseriding and show that there was a herm, an altar and a pillared building in the Agora perhaps by the end of the sixth century.[33] The Herms are associated with the cavalry by a fourth-century comic fragment: "Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented by Phylarchus, and to their handsome pupils, whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting."[34] References to "the Herms," "the Stoa of the Herms," and Hermes Agoraios can be confusing, but these all were located in the northwestern Agora strikingly close to the fifth-century starting line.[35]

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[29] Corinth (from ca. 500 on): C. K. Williams II and Pamela Russell, "Corinth: Excavations of 1980, the Sports Complex," *Hesp.* 50 (1981): 1-19. Argos (from Hellenistic or early Roman times): M. Pierart and Jean-Paul Thalmann, "Agora: zone du portique," *BCH* 102 (1978): 776-83 and fig. 26. Also see David G. Romano, "Stadia of the Peloponnesos," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1981), 150-69 (Corinth) and 188 (Argos).

[30] For comparisons with other Greek starting lines, and for a discussion of terminology (probably *balbis* or *kampter*-line rather than *husplex*) and operation (probably no obstacles, auditory start signal), see D.G. Kyle, "Athletics in Athens," App. D, "The Starting Line in the Agora," 362-68.

[31] Most early Greek stadia existed in a close topographical relationship with a temple or altar; David G. Romano, "The Ancient Stadium: Athletics and Arete," *AncW* 7 (1983): 9. Isthmia provides a good example; O. Broneer, *Isthmia II*, 46-66. On the significance of the Altar of the Twelve Gods established by the younger Pisistratus in 521, Wycherley, *Stones*, 133 comments:

> The establishment of the altar marked this precise spot as the very center of Athens; it served as a central milestone from which distances were measured, and it was almost certainly what Pindar called in his dithyramb [frag. 75 Snell] in honor of the Athenians 'the *omphalos* (navel) of the city, much-trodden, fragrant with incense.'

[32] *Agora XIV*, 94-96; *Agora III*, nos. 296-313; Evelyn B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, The Athenian Agora XI* (Princeton, 1965), 108-76. Recent field work has not found the Stoa; T. Leslie Shear Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-82," *Hesp.* 53 (1984): 40-43, comments: "The Stoa of the Herms remains as elusive a structure as ever, although now it is likely that the building should be sought further to the northwest."

[33] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 137-38.

[34] Mnesimachos (Edmonds *FAC* 2: frag. 4), *Agora III*, no. 303, ὅυς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους μελετᾷ Φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν.

[35] See Map A. On Herms elsewhere: Francis Cairns, "A Herm from Histiaia with an Agonistic Epigram of the Fifth Century B.C.," *Phoen.* 37 (1983): 16-37.

In the *Hipparchicus* of around 365 Xenophon mentions the Herms and equestrian performances in the Agora as he suggests that processions during festivals should include a processional circuit of the Agora followed by a fast gallop by regiments from the Herms to the Eleusinion.[36] Although Xenophon recommends a new manner of riding to increase the spectacle here, equestrian events apparently were an accepted occurrence in the fourth-century Agora. It is unlikely that the start and finish points of the gallop are innovations.

A distinction must be made between processions and cavalry parades and equestrian contests in the Agora. The manœuvres discussed by Xenophon may not have been agonistic, and Demosthenes is referring to military processions when he charges an opponent with being "unable to lead a procession through the Agora."[37] However, an association of certain agonistic events with the Agora gains support from several statue bases. The most famous of these is a base of 380, signed by the sculptor Bryaxis, found *in situ* at the northwestern entrance to the Agora. It commemorates victories by a father and two sons in the *anthippasia* at the Panathenaea.[38] An inscription of ca. 365 recording the victory of the tribe Leontis in some equestrian contest was found reused in a late foundation to the west of the Royal Stoa close to the site of the Bryaxis base.[39] A dedication of around 325 from the northwest corner of the Agora was made by a phylarch and commemorates a victory, probably in the *anthippasia* of the Panathenaea where phylarchs commanded their tribal cavalry.[40] Furthermore, some bases which specifically mention the *anthippasia* may originally have come from the Agora.[41]

The *apobates* race also is attested for the Agora. A monument from early in the fourth century depicting an *apobates* was found in a tower of the Post-Herulian Wall south of the Stoa of Attalos and a little below the Eleusinion.[42] An association of the Eleusinion with this event recurs in two second-century inscriptions. These catalogues of Panathenaic victors refer

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[36] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.2-5, *Agora III*, no. 203, pp. 78, 108; M.A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens* (Paris, 1887), 148. Xenophon may refer to the *anthippasia* or simply to a military review since he specifically mentions the *anthippasia* elsewhere with reference to the Hippodrome (*Hipp.* 3.10).

[37] Dem. *Meid.* 21.171; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora*, 219.

[38] *IG* II^2 3130; *Agora III*, 105; Moretti, *IAG*, no. 80; *Agora XIV*, 121.

[39] T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesp.* 40 (1971): 271-72; *Agora XIV*, 95, n. 72.

[40] B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 15 (1946): 176-77, no. 24. Cf. a fourth-century dedication by phylarchs and hipparchs; H.A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1952," *Hesp.* 22 (1953): 49-51 and fig. 3.

[41] See E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," *Hesp.* 43 (1974): 311-13, pls. 61-63, discussing two inscriptions of the late fourth or early third century which specifically mention the *anthippasia*; cf. *IG* II^2 3135 and 3136.

[42] T. Leslie Shear, "Relief of an Apobates," *Hesp.* 4 (1935): 379-81; *Agora XIV*, 121.

to an *apobates* and a charioteer "dismounting at the Eleusinion," suggesting that the race through the Agora ended near this shrine where the slope does become unmanageably steep.[43] Hence, as Travlos has suggested, the Panathenaic *dromos* seems to have begun a little to the north of the Peribolos of Twelve Gods in front of the Herms; it crossed the Agora and ended near the Eleusinion, being marked out with bases at both ends and along its route.[44]

It thus seems certain that the Agora at various times housed a *dromos* for men and horses. As Martin contends, the earliest athletics may have involved funeral and hero cults while civic athletics probably arose in the sixth and fifth centuries. Furthermore, military *agones* became customary in the fourth century. Athens is somewhat unusual in that the classical Agora was not initially the religious centre of the city. Archaeology has shown that political establishments predated religious buildings in the Agora and that major religious cults are secondary and more recent there. Hence the Athenian Agora, as a graveyard initially appropriate to funeral and hero cult-related athletics, also gained civic athletics as it developed. Here again harmony existed between the religious and civic aspects of athletics at Athens. As the Agora acquired more buildings and functions it became less physically suitable for athletics, but it still retained its role as an athletic facility on an occasional basis for state competitions.

Gymnasia

Most scholars agree that the fully developed Greek gymnasium was a public facility for physical education, controlled by municipal officials and open to all citizens. A standard feature of any *polis*, the gymnasium consisted of a running track (*dromos*) and a wrestling ground (*palaestra*). With the addition of areas for changing, storage and bathing, the gymnasium was able to accommodate the many types of activity involved in Greek athletics and gymnastics.[45] Before examining the individual Athenian gymnasia, some problems of approach and terminology should be confronted.

J. Delorme's extensive work investigates the Greek gymnasium from an architectural viewpoint as an educational institution, but there are limitations to this approach and its application to pre-Hellenistic Athens.[46] According

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[43] *IG* II^2 2316.16, 2317.48; *Agora III*, no. 216, p. 80; *Agora XIV*, 121.

[44] Travlos, *PDA*, 2-3, fig. 5, no. 32.

[45] In general, see Delorme, *Gym.*; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium;" Gardiner, *GASF*, 467-510; Wycherley, *HGBC*, 147-61. On Athenian gymnasia, see R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens* (Princeton, 1978), 219-35; and the relevant articles in *PW* and Travlos, *PDA*. Gardiner, *GASF*, 472-82, gives a reconstruction of life in a fifth-century Athenian gymnasium from vase-paintings.

[46] Reviewing Delorme, *Gym.*, in *JHS* 82 (1962): 200-01, R.E. Wycherley criticizes Delorme's attempt to classify gymnasia architecturally. He feels each gymnasium has to be accepted with

to Delorme, the gymnasium originated as a response to the rise of "la gymnastique," a system of physical education which itself was a response to military changes.[47] Delorme admits the earlier existence of athletics but he rejects the Homeric athletic ideal and the rise of the Olympic Games as causes for the development of gymnastics.[48] Here he may underestimate the contribution of Olympia to the popularity of athletics and to the rise of the *Periodos* in the sixth century. The sites of the games of the *Periodos* initially were rudimentary and none has left archaeological remains of early gymnasia,[49] yet such early sites still qualify as facilities for athletics (if not for physical education).

In Delorme's theory, military developments led to the rise of the idea of gymnastics, which itself necessarily preceded the establishment of gymnasia. Hoplite warfare led the Greeks to institutionalize Homeric athletic events into a system of physical education to train a new class of soldiers individually to meet the collective military ends of the *polis*.[50] On the basis of a passage from Theognis containing the first appearance of the verb γυμνάζειν, Delorme dates the first example of "gymnastique" to the mid-sixth century and asserts a traditional tie between physical education and pederasty:

> ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται οἴκαδε ἐλθών,
> εὕδων σὺν καλῶι παιδὶ πανημέριος
> Happy is he who loves as he exercises himself and upon going
> home sleeps all day long with a fair boy.[51]

With specific reference to Athens, Delorme concludes that gymnastics led to the appearance of gymnasia by the mid-sixth century, but the reference to Theognis neither proves nor disproves the existence of a developed system of physical education, nor does it mention warfare or specify any athletic facility.

Evidence for pre-Hellenistic Athens suggests that gymnasia here arose as

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its own peculiar structure determined by the layout, needs and ideas of the local community. In *HGBC*, 147, Wycherley suggests that the gymnasium is to be thought of primarily as an extensive athletic ground rather than a closely knit architectural unit.

[47] Delorme, *Gym.*, 9.

[48] *Ibid.*, 17-18, regarding the Homeric athletic ideal as spontaneous and uneducational, discounts the informal, impromptu competitions as gymnastics because they lacked a practical end or preparatory training. Delorme, 23, 26-30, sees the sixth-century reorganization of the Panhellenic Games as influenced by the rise of gymnastics.

[49] The earliest soundly-dated gymnasium is that at Delphi of 350-325; see J. Jannoray and H. Ducoux, *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. II, *Topographie et architecture : le gymnase* (Paris, 1953); and Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 84-101.

[50] Delorme, *Gym.*, 23-26; thus the hoplite class could demand a share in the earlier aristocratic athletics. Cf. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 55, who feels that the "hoplite revolution" was irrelevant to the development of gymnastics or the rise of gymnasia.

[51] Theog. 1335-36, ed. M.L. West, *Iambi et Elegi*, 1 : 238; J.M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1 : 394-95; Delorme, *Gym.*, 19-20. This is the sole example from Theognis, but pederasty and gymnasia often were connected in later Greek literature; see Pl. *Resp.* 452c; *Symp.* 182b-c; Ar. *Pax* 762-63; *Vesp.* 1025; and Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 40, 54-55, 185.

athletic rather than *educational* facilities, and that early contributing factors included athletics, festivals and even politics moreso than changes in warfare. With an approach more suitable for Athens, G. Fougères posited a slow architectural evolution of gymnasia through four periods.[52] In the primitive era gymnasia were simple sites with nothing more than *dromoi* and without fixed constructions.[53] In the archaic era gymnasia were walled gardens with *dromoi* and *palaestrae*. The fourth and third centuries saw the establishment of the architectural type of the gymnasium with permanent constructions including *peripatoi* and hot baths, and finally the fourth or Greco-Roman period saw elaborate gymnasia anticipating Roman bath complexes. Thus the earliest "gymnasia," simply as suitable sites specifically used for athletics, predate both the architectural development examined by Delorme and the earliest known archaeological remains. Athletes like Pantakles, the early seventh-century Olympic victor, presumably practiced in some athletic facility at Athens, probably a "rudimentary gymnasium."[54]

The meaning and use of the terms "*gymnasium*" and "*palaestra*" should be clarified. While the original, etymological distinction was between ἡ παλαίστρα as a ground where men wrestle (παλαίω) and τὸ γυμνάσιον as a place where men strip naked (γυμνός) for exercise, the general distinction in classical times was between "*palaestra*" as a wrestling school and "*gymnasium*" as a gymnastic facility.[55] Unfortunately, ancient sources, especially late Greek and Latin authors, use the terms vaguely or interchangeably, leading to modern debate and confusion.[56]

Among scholars, Gardiner tries to distinguish between the gymnasium as a place and the *palaestra* as a building.[57] Forbes argues that *palaestrae*, as wrestling schools for boys, were private, while gymnasia were large public edifices.[58] The best discussion, that by Delorme, suggests that the ancients saw the terms as interchangeable, and that the only viable distinction is

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[52] G. Fougères, s.v. Gymnasion, *Dar. Sag.* II 2 (1896), 1684-1705.

[53] *Ibid.*, 1684-86, suggests open spaces for field events with sanded areas for heavier events. See the simple arrangements in Homer at Troy (*Il.* 23.259-897), Ithaca (*Od.* 4.625-27) and Phaeacia (*Od.* 8.97-233).

[54] Hereafter "rudimentary" or "pre-architectural gymnasium" refers to regularly used, naturally suitable areas, with space for a *dromos* and *palaestra* for open air exercising but lacking fixed constructions. "Architectural gymnasium" refers to such sites when enclosed by walls and subdivided by fixed constructions into specialized areas.

[55] *LSJ* s.v. παλαίστρα, γυμνάσιον. On the issue in general, see Delorme, *Gym.*, 252-71; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 69-81.

[56] Pausanias at times uses "*palaestra*" to refer to part of a gymnasium (at Elis, 5.15.8; and at Olympia, 6.21.2). Cic. *Verr.* 2.14.36 called the public gymnasium at Syracuse a *palaestra*; and Vitr. *De Arch.* 5.11 describes a Greek gymnasium and refers to it as a *palaestra*.

[57] Gardiner, *GASF*, 467-68. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 69 and Zschietzschmann, 2: 31-32, feel *gymnasium* is simply a more general term than the specific term *palaestra*.

[58] Forbes, *GPE*, 76-82. Wycherley, *HGBC*, 155, regards the *palaestra* simply as the "gymnasium courtyard."

architectural.[59] A gymnasium, comprising a *dromos* for track and field events plus a *palaestra* for contact sports, was a complete athletic facility; a *palaestra*, when it existed independently, could accommodate only contact sports. *Palaestrae* could be public or private, and could be used by men or boys.

In the ancient sources the earliest references to a *palaestra* comes from Herodotus' story of Kleisthenes of Sikyon who "made a place for running and a place for wrestling' (καὶ δρόμον καὶ παλαίστρην ποιησάμενος) for his daughter's suitors.[60] These provisions probably were not elaborate, perhaps simply cleared areas of land. Although the word "*gymnasium*" is not used, scholars feel that Kleisthenes in fact provided a rudimentary gymnasium for his guests.[61] Similarly, in referring to δρόμους and παλαίστρας, Euripides apparently credits Sparta with gymnasia in the Heroic Age.[62] Aristophanes uses "*gymnasium*" but more often refers to "*palaestrae*," especially as places where good boys exercise and immoral men practice seduction.[63] As in Aristophanes, the commonest meaning of "*palaestra*" in Xenophon is with reference to wrestling schools for boys distinct from larger gymnasia.[64]

By the late fifth century many wrestling instructors (*paidotribai*) seem to have privately-owned independent *palaestrae* at Athens where they charged for the instruction of boys.[65] Plato's *Lysis* allows a glimpse into the architectural nature of the private *palaestra* of an unnamed paidotribe where the Sophist Mikkos also taught.[66] Of recent construction (νεωστὶ ᾠκοδομημένη), this *palaestra* resembled an ordinary house with a sort of enclosure and a single door out onto the street (περίβολόν τέ τινα καὶ θύραν ἀνεῳγμένην).[67] Most of the boys were inside in the central open-air court (ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ἔξω)

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[59] Delorme, *Gym.*, 266.

[60] Hdt. 6.26. The verb is vague and no buildings need be assumed.

[61] Gardiner, *GASF*, 467-68; Delorme, *Gym.*, 266.

[62] Eur. *Andr.* 599; cf. *Tro.* 833-34. In *Hipp.* 299 γυμνάσια ἱππόκροτα probably refers to the area where Hippolytus raced his horse.

[63] In Ar. *Av.* 140 "*gymnasium*" is used in association with bathing (ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον). In *Vesp.* 526 ἐν θ' ἡμετέρου γυμνασίου should be rendered "from our school" according to *LSJ*. A fragment of Aristophanes (Edmonds *FAC* 1 : frag. 715) refers to γερόντειαι παλαῖστραι; Harris, *GAA*, 146, takes this as a reference to special *palaestrae* for old men. Without knowing the context or even the name of the play, this seems unnecessary.

[64] For example, Xen. *Laced.* 2.1.

[65] See Delorme, *Gym.*, 59-61, 441 and below, p. 143ff. Delorme, 59, suggests that Athens may have had such wrestling schools before the Persian Wars, but supposedly Solonian laws regulating *palaestrae* probably are based on fifth-century practice. A fourth-century graffito on a small olpe may refer to property of a private *palaestra*; see Lang, *Agora XXI*, Hd2, pl. 41. Instruction also continued in the public gymnasia : Antiphon's *Second Tetralogy* debates the guilt in a scene where a boy under the instruction of a paidotribe was killed ἐν γυμνασίῳ (1.1; 3.6).

[66] Pl. *Lysis* 203a-207a; Gardiner, *GASF*, 471-72; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 64-65. On the location, Judeich, *Topog.*, 415.

[67] Pl. *Lysis* 204a, 203b. The enclosure prevented people outside from viewing the exercises of the boys inside. Cf. details of the house of Kallias in Pl. *Prt.* 314b-316a.

but others were in a corner of the undressing room (τοῦ ἀποδυτηρίου γωνία), which, facing onto the court and equipped with benches, served as a general meeting place.[68] This then was a private building open to the public (both boys and men) with similarities to—but separate from—gymnasia at Athens.[69]

The consensus that Athens had public gymnasia (including *palaestrae*) and private *palaestrae* is disturbed by a comment by the Old Oligarch:

> καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀποδυτήρια τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ ἐνίοις, ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸς αὑτῷ οἰκοδομεῖται ἰδίᾳ παλαίστρας πολλάς, ἀποδυτήρια, λουτρῶνας· καὶ πλείω τούτων ἀπολαύει ὁ ὄχλος ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι καὶ οἱ εὐδαίμονες.
>
> Some rich men have gymnasia, baths and changing rooms privately, but the *demos* itself builds many *palaestrae*, changing rooms and baths; and the mob enjoys these more than do the few and the well-to-do.[70]

This implies that some gymnasia (rather than *palaestrae*) were owned privately, and that the state built many *palaestrae* (rather than gymnasia) which were open to all citizens but used mostly by the masses.

Private gymnasia are not inconceivable but they would be large, expensive and probably suburban.[71] State-built *palaestrae* also are conceivable but references to *palaestrae* (not in association with gymnasia) generally indicate wrestling schools, open to the public but privately owned and operated. If there were private gymnasia, why would the *demos* build only *palaestrae*—admittedly "many" but still usually the smaller facility? As the passage reads, the rich few retain their elaborate facilities in private while the *demos* gets lesser facilities; and this would detract from the Old Oligarch's theme of the mob pleasing itself at the expense of the *aristoi*. Probably the author simply is using these terms loosely or interchangeably to mean "athletic facility" or "exercise area" in both cases. The Old Oligarch thus complains —with predictable exaggeration—that athletic facilities, formerly the prerogative of the rich, have come into use by the poor, who neither deserve nor finance them.

If the major Athenian gymnasia were "public," how were they financed

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[68] Pl. *Lysis* 206e. The room seems to have been quite large since Socrates was able to withdraw to a quieter corner of it (207a). Storerooms and a bathing area are not mentioned but can be assumed.

[69] Cf. the description of the Lyceum below, p. 81.

[70] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.10.

[71] Delorme, *Gym.*, 258, feels that private gymnasia at Athens would be exceptional in lacking the official character of the normal Greek gymnasium. H. Frisch, *The Constitution of the Athenians* (Copenhagen, 1942; reprint, New York, 1976), 256-57, admits puzzlement because the passage goes against early Greek usage. Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 73-74, suggests that the author has reversed the proper terms as a reference to the reversal—under a democracy—of the normal order of things. This is ingenious but the Old Oligarch's criticisms, although inclined to rhetorical exaggeration, are generally less subtle.

and administered? Unfortunately, as S.C. Humphreys demonstrates, we know almost nothing about the organization and routine maintenance of gymnasia in the classical era.[72] Possibly the tribal gymnasiarchs who trained teams for the torch races in classical Athens had additional responsibilities, but sources generally associate them only with the single event.[73] The elaborate Hellenistic system based on liturgical gymnasiarchs cannot be assumed for the earlier age.[74] Apparently, the functional and economic influence of the *ephebeia* on gymnasia at Athens was more of a Hellenistic than a classical phenomenon.[75] Rather than liturgical gymnasiarchs or ephebic officials, Humphreys suggests two possibilities: that gymnasia were administered by priests and paid for out of cult funds, or that the state,leased gymnasia out to contractors who ran them as privately-owned *palaestrae* were run. Another suggestion might be that entrance fees were charged, as at the theatre, but there is no evidence for any of these ideas.

A fragment from Hyperides of 323 may be relevant. After mentioning a man fined for taking theoric money for his son who was abroad, Hyperides refers to a certain Aristomachos who, ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος τῆς ᾿Ακαδημείας, "took a spade from the *palaestra* to his own garden and used it ...."[76] The implication is that the man, in some official capacity, abused public property. Possibly gymnasia were under the jurisdiction of certain state officials, but *epistates* is a very general term and the evidence is simply too meager in the classical age.[77] If athletic facilities were not a regular area of civic

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[72] S.C. Humphreys, "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," *JHS* 94 (1974): 88-95, especially 91, n. 8.

[73] Such gymnasiarchs are attested from the last decade of the fifth century for the Hephaestia (And. 1.32) and Prometheia (Lys. 21.3) and J.K. Davies, "Demosthenes on Liturgies: A Note," *JHS* 87 (1967): 35-36, argues that the office is earlier than 421.

[74] The gymnasiarchy at Athens, as an ephebic liturgy including responsibility for a gymnasium, appears to be Hellenistic. See J. Oehler, s.v., *Dar. Sag.* II 2 (1896), 1675-1684. Ael. *VH* 8.14, concerning Diogenes, refers to a παλαιστροφύλαξ, probably a servant; Forbes, *GPE*, 72.

[75] The rise of the Athenian *ephebeia* has long been controversial. U. Willamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristotles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893) I: 191-93, arguing from the lack of evidence, felt the *ephebeia* did not predate 335/4. C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* (Paris, 1962), 71-79, argues for the operation of the *ephebeia* in the fifth century. O.W. Reinmuth, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Leiden, 1971), 1-3, 134-36, on the basis of his Doc. no. 1 (M.Th. Mitsos, *Arch. Eph.* 1965 (1967) 131-32), asserts the existence of the *ephebeia* in the time of Aeschines ca. 361/0, with a revivification by Lycurgus; but cf. F.W. Mitchel, "The So-Called Earliest Ephebic Inscription," *ZPE* 19 (1975): 233-43, who dates Reinmuth's no. 1 to 334/3. The Ptolemaion and the Diogenion are the gymnasia most often mentioned in ephebic documents; and the *ephebeia*, as a civically controlled program, represents a major intrusion on the functions of Athenian gymnasia only in the Hellenistic age.

[76] Hyperides *c. Demosth.* frag. 7 col. 26; Forbes, *GPE*, 84-85.

[77] As Humphries, "Nothoi," 91 n. 8, points out, "gymnasiarch" in Aeschines 1.2 seems merely to mean "whoever is in charge of the gymnasium;" and Ps. Plato's reference to a gymnasiarch in charge of the Lyceum (*Eryxias* 397c, 399a) is not reliable evidence. Philochorus (*FGrH* III B, 238 F37) says that the Lyceum came into being Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος, but the reference probably is to the *strategeia*.

expenditure,[78] it perhaps was because such facilities still tended to be modest in architecture and expenses through the classical era.

Finally, before turning to the individual gymnasia, the relationship between baths and athletic facilities deserves comment. Athletic facilities obviously needed supplies of fresh water, and this may have been a factor in the location of gymnasia at Athens.[79] Bathing arrangements in early gymnasia were very simple, usually just a round basin on legs in the open air,[80] but they became more elaborate as time passed. Classical baths often were appendages to athletic buildings or elements of larger athletic facilities.[81] The Old Oligarch associates baths with both private and public athletic facilities in his condemnation of the increasing use of such facilities by non-nobles.[82] Toward the end of the fifth century independent bathing arrangements separate from athletic facilities appeared.[83] In denouncing the New Education Aristophanes contrasts the frequenting of independent baths with the pursuit of athletics;[84] he especially resents the popularity of warm baths (τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά).[85]

It is interesting that in the *Laws* Plato writes that fresh water should be channeled into sanctuaries where the young men should construct exercise grounds for themselves and their elders as well as warm baths for the use of the latter.[86] The youths were simply to have available fresh water, but warm baths are presented as therapeutic for the elderly and infirm. Independent baths, frequented for pleasure rather than hygiene, were scorned by moralists like Aristophanes as a sign of degeneracy; but in the fourth century baths remained an essential part of athletic facilities, and the positive value of warm baths was being recognized.

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[78] Gymnasia do not appear as an item of regular recurrent expenditure in Aristotle's *Ath. Pol.*; and F. W. Heichelheim, *An Economic History of the Ancient World* (Leiden, 1964), 2: 142-43, feels athletic facilities only received occasional state contributions.

[79] The Academy, Lyceum and Kynosarges respectively were near the Eridanos, Kephisos and Ilissos; Plato *Lysis* 203a, 206c-e describes a *palaestra* as near the fountain of Panops.

[80] On Greek bathing, see R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè, Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque* (Paris, 1962). On Athenian baths, see Travlos, *PDA*, 180-81 and Ginouvès, *Bal.*, 126-29.

[81] Harris, *GAA*, 136, 147-49. See Pl. *Symp.* 223d and Ar. *Av.* 140.

[82] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.10. J. M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy* (London, 1975), 53, sees an element of exaggeration here but accepts this as evidence for public baths in association with athletic facilities; cf. H. Frisch, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 257-58. In 443/2 the *epistatai* of the Parthenon possibly received surplus money from the building of public baths; see *IG* I^2 343.84 and Boersma, *ABP*, no. 123.

[83] Ginouvès, *Bal.*, 101-02. An inscription of 417 mentions τὸ Ἰσ[θ]μονικο βαλανεῖον; see *IG* I^2 94; *SIG* 550; *PA* 7690 and *APF* 9574, p. 358. According to Isae. 6.33 a certain Euktemon bought τὸ ἐν Σηραγγείῳ βαλανεῖον from another individual for 3000 drachmas shortly before 363.

[84] Ar. *Nub.* 1054, πλῆρες τὸ βαλανεῖον ποιεῖ, κενὰς δὲ παλαίστρας. Frugal men are said not to go to the baths to clean themselves, and the Just Argument urges the youth to abstain from the baths (*Nub.* 837, 991); cf. *Eq.* 579-80.

[85] The Just Argument claims baths make men cowardly (*Nub.* 1044-46); cf. Harris, *GAA*, 147, who feels that the influence of heated baths probably is overestimated.

[86] Pl. *Leg.* 761c-d.

Baths at Athens thus developed at first partly in association with, and later also independently from, athletic facilities. The number and temperature of the baths, in public facilities or private establishments, would indicate a trend to improved and more expensive arrangements as the wealth and population of Athens grew. Baths should not be accepted as having athletic functions unless connected to areas where athletes exercised; baths in isolation from such areas were not athletic facilities in their own right in pre-Hellenistic Athens.

ACADEMY

Initially a sacred grove and most famous as the site of Plato's school, the Academy in classical Athens was primarily a gymnasium.[87] Although its athletic facilities were enhanced by Kimon, the Academy was an athletic facility with a rudimentary gymnasium well into the archaic age. Ancient sources locate the Academy generally to the west of the city in the Outer Kerameikos, but they disagree on the distance of the Academy from the city.[88] A very specific and definite location for the northeast corner of the Academy is known from a boundary stone found *in situ* with an inscription of around 500 reading hό]ρος τε̃ς hεκαδεμείας.[89] The location, origin and development of the Academy as an athletic facility, and its growing functions, all are significant.

Originating as a religious sanctuary, the Academy derives its name from Hekademos, a local ancestral hero whose cult was associated with the worship of Prometheus and Hephaestus.[90] His name is confirmed by a sherd of the second quarter of the sixth century from the Agora with a dipinto restored to read HEKA[ΔHMOΣ].[91] The area is naturally suitable but

[87] On the Academy, see Delorme, *Gym.*, 36-42; Wycherley, *Stones*, 219-25; Boersma, *ABP*, nos. VII and 16; Travlos, *PDA*, 42-51; Judeich, *Topog.*, 66, 412-14; and H. Cherniss, *The Riddle of the Early Academy*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1962).

[88] Diog. Laer. 3.7; Paus. 1.30.4. Distance: Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.1; Livy 31.24.10. For the location, see Map B (= Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 417). Wycherley, *Stones*, 219, comments:

> The use of the term in the later writers is very flexible; it meant primarily the shrine, but by a natural extension it was used of the gymnasium, the school of Plato, of course, or of the district; and sometimes, improperly, of the cemetary on the way to the Academy, or of the Kerameikos.

[89] Found in 1966 near the southeast corner of Aimonos and Tripoleos Streets; O. Alexandri, *Delt.* 22 (1967): 46-49.

[90] Diog. Laer. 3.7-8; J. Toepffer, s.v. Academos, *PW* 1 (1894) 1137-38. J. Coldstream, "Hero-Cult in the Age of Homer," *JHS* 96 (1976): 16, compares Hekademos to Erechtheus as a local ancestral hero. L. Weber, "Kerameikos-Kulte," *MDAI(A)* 50 (1925): 145-47, suggested that Athens' games for its war dead originated in games to honor Hekademos; but Roller, "Funeral Games for Historical Persons," 8, rejects this. In later legend Hekademos was an Arcadian who came to Attica on the invitation of Theseus; Plut. *Thes.* 32, *Cim* 13; Diog. Laer. 3.1.9; see Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v.

[91] Beazley, *ABV*, 27 no. 36; not in Lang, *Agora XXI*.

Hekademos has no other athletic associations, so it is interesting that a gymnasium arose on the site of this old Athenian hero cult.

The home of various altars and cults, the Academy was especially sacred to Athena; sacred torch races began here from a joint altar to Prometheus and Hephaestus, and the site always retained a religious aspect.[92] Herakles and Hermes also had altars, and the sacred olives (*moriai*) (guarded by Zeus Morios) grew in the Academy.[93] In the time of the Pisistratids a certain Charmos dedicated an altar to Eros before the entrance to the Academy, and later Plato is said to have added a shrine to the Muses.[94] With sacred torch races and a number and variety of cults, this sanctuary was both revered and popular.

Archaeologists have excavated sections of the Academy in the twentieth century but no clearly athletic structures predating the Hellenistic era have been unearthed.[95] A mud-brick structure of the late eighth century is referred to as the "Sacred House" because of deposits of sacrificial ash, animal bones and pottery from the Late Geometric period onward. Nearby are the remains of a small, Early Helladic apsidal house, the so-called "House of Hekademos." P.D. Stavropoullos suggests that the earlier house was discovered in the eighth century and identified with Hekademos, and then a shrine was established as part of a hero cult.[96] An actual gymnasium complex, complete with court, *palaestra*, baths and dressing rooms has been found but it is of late Hellenistic or Roman date; poros architectural blocks from earlier buildings were used in its construction.[97] To the north of this gymnasium a large square peristyle dating to the second half of the fourth century was found, and to the northwest of this excavators found fragments of terracotta metopes with painted decoration and antefixes dating to the second half of the sixth century. Overall, then, archaeology has shown evidence of early cult associations, an elaborate late gymnasium, and building remains and reused material of uncertain function (possibly related to an archaic gymnasium) from the intervening period.

The nature of any archaic gymnasium in the Academy is uncertain, and it may have been sacked by the Persians. Delorme doubts the tradition of Solonian legislation about athletics in the Academy, but he accepts a "gymnasium" predating 514 on the basis of references to a statue of Eros

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[92] Paus. 1.30.2; Ath. 13.561d-e; the Scholiast on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 56, citing Apollodorus, says that Athena, Prometheus and Hephaestus were worshipped together in the Academy.

[93] Paus. 1.30.2; *Anth. Pal.* 6.144; Schol. on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 705; cf. Paus. 5.14.10.

[94] Paus. 1.30.1; Ath. 13.609d; Plut. *Sol.* 1.7. Plato: Paus. 1.30.2; Diog. Laer. 4.1.1.

[95] For a summary, see P.D. Stavropoullos, *Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaideia*, Suppl. 22 s.v. 'Ακαδημία; for the location of remains, see Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 62 and Map B.

[96] P.D. Stavropoullos, "Anaskaphe Archaias Akademeias," *Prakt.* 1956 (1961): 53-54; 1958 (1965): 5-13 and *Delt.* 16 (1960): Chron. 34.

[97] O. Alexandri, *Delt.* 22 (1967): Chron. 59-65.

near the Academy.[98] Plutarch says that Pisistratus had a lover Charmos and that he established a statue to Eros in the Academy.[99] Pausanias claims that before the "entrance" to the Academy was an altar to Love with an inscription that Charmos was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god.[100] According to Athenaeus, Charmos was the lover of Hippias and also the first Athenian to establish the altar to Eros "near the Academy" (πρὸς 'Ακαδημίᾳ). Athenaeus gives a version of the epigram, and adds that Charmos established the altar "at the shadowy limits of the gymnasium" (ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου).[101] Only this last note refers to a "gymnasium," but details like "entrance" and "limits" do suggest that the Academy was a recognized and defined area.

Near the end of the sixth century Hipparchus may have enclosed the Academy by a proverbially expensive wall: Ἵππαρχος ὁ Πεισιστράτου περὶ τὴν 'Ακαδήμειαν τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμησε.[102] Already probably an established site of athletic activity, the Academy could well have drawn the attention of the Pisistratids. However, there are no certain remains of such a wall, and the connection to Hipparchos may be legendary. A precinct wall has been found and helps determine the limits of the Academy, but it seems to be of later construction.[103] Like the dedication by Charmos, the "Wall of Hipparchos" suggests that the archaic Academy was a prominent and delimited site, but this could apply to a sanctuary as well as a rudimentary gymnasium.

In the fifth century Kimon was instrumental in the development of the Academy as a public athletic facility.

> πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς αἵ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπερφυῶς ἠγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ' 'Ακαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος, ἠσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.
>
> He was the first to embellish the city with the so-called liberal and elegant resorts, which a little later were cherished excessively, by planting the Agora with plane trees and recovering the Academy from a waterless and dusty place to a watered grove, adorned by him with clear runways and closely shaded walkways.[104]

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[98] Delorme, *Gym.*, 42, hypothesizes:

> Telle nous apparaît donc l'Académie, à la fin de la période archaique; un vaste parc bien clos, où monuments religieux et installations sportives étaient disséminés parmi la verdure et l'ombrage.

[99] Plut. *Sol.* 1.7.

[100] Paus. 1.30.1, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς ἐς 'Ακαδημίαν.

[101] Ath. 13.609d.

[102] *Suda* s.v. τὸ Ἱππάρχου τειχίον (Adler, 4.567); Wycherley, *Stones*, 219; Judeich, *Topog.*, 413, agrees with the existence of a gymnasium and a precinct wall under the tyrants.

[103] P.D. Stavropoullos, *Prakt.* (1958): 8-10. Boersma, *ABP*, 8, no. 16, accepts this as the Wall of Hipparchos, but cf. Wycherley, *Stones*, 224.

[104] Plut. *Cim.* 13.7.

Since καλλωπίζειν is positive, διατριβαῖς can be interpreted favorably as "pastimes" or "resorts" of a "liberal" and "polished" nature, although these are said to become excessively popular later. Specifically, Kimon seems to have improved the water supply of the area and added runs and walkways.[105] This was a personal benefaction quite consistent with his reputation for public generosity.[106] If *protos* can be taken literally Kimon was the first man to beautify the lower city (τὸ ἄστυ as opposed to the Acropolis beautified under the tyranny) with the development of public areas.[107] "First" also may suggest that Kimon was the first private citizen to perform such major liberal acts. He developed the Academy from a religious sanctuary (probably housing aristocratic athletic activity) into a gymnasium and a popular resort area.[108] Kimon thus was the earliest recorded Athenian to adapt a physically suitable area for athletics via artifically constructed runs and walks. Architecturally, though probably not functionally, this was the first "gymnasium" at the Academy and at Athens.

In the *Clouds* of 423 Aristophanes presents a romantic picture of the Academy as a site of athletic activity:

> ἀλλ' εἰς 'Ακαδήμειαν κατιὼν ὑπὸ μορίαις ἀποθρέξει
> στεφανωσάμενος καλάμῳ λευκῷ μετὰ σώφρονος ἡλικιώτου,
> σμίλακος ὄζων καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης καὶ λεύκης φυλλοβολούσης,
> ἦρος ἐν ὥρᾳ, χαίρων ὁπόταν πλάτανος πτελέᾳ ψιθυρίζῃ.

In B.B. Rogers' famous translation:

> But you will below to the Academy go,
> and under the olives contend
> With your chaplet of reed, in a contest of speed
> With some excellent rival and friend:
> All fragrant with woodbine and peaceful content,
> and the leaf which the lime blossoms fling,

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[105] Kimon possibly planted the trees mentioned by Aristophanes (*Nub.* 1005-08); and the Academy remained famous for such trees: Diog. Laer. 3.7; Plut. *Sull.* 13; Pliny *HN* 12.9. Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 13 n. 7, suggests Kimon may have channeled water from the Kephisos to the Academy, and Ginouvès, *Bal.*, 126 n. 3, feels he also may have provided bathing facilities for the athletes. Recently excavated sections of a pipeline, associated with the Stoa Poikile and flowing toward the Dipylon, are suggested by T. Leslie Shear Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-82," *Hesp.* 53 (1984): 48-50, to be part of Kimon's hydraulic installations to carry water out to the Academy.

[106] See Plut. *Cim.* 10.5-6.

[107] Boersma, *ABP*, 58, feels that Kimon's aim was to raise the standard of public amenities. His initiatives were private, but since they concerned a public site he probably proposed them in the Ekklesia and added that he would pay the cost himself. Boersma, 127, dates Kimon's actions roughly to the second quarter of the fifth century.

[108] Delorme, *Gym.*, 41, suggests that the Academy was sacked by the Persians and that Kimon was more of a restorer than a creator. Architecturally, however, there may have been very little to sack.

When the place whispers love to the elm in the grove
in the beautiful season of Spring.[109]

Here the image is that of a natural grove or park area; reference is made to competition and trees, but there is no hint of any architectural constructions. No "*gymnasium*" is specifically mentioned.[110] The Aristophanic contrast posed between the Academy and the Agora, the scene of sophistry and discord, is somewhat ironic.[111] Sophistry was hardly foreign to athletic facilities; the Agora was the site of athletic competition, and Kimon had helped turn both the Academy and Agora into places of public resort.[112] Aristophanes' fondness for the motif of the "good old days" may suggest that the Just Argument is referring back to an earlier stage of the Academy as a natural sanctuary and yet also a recognized site of athletic activity.

In the Panathenaea and other festivals the *dromos* for the torch races began in the Academy and proceeded through the Kerameikos; but it is uncertain when such races were first held, and their original nature was ritualistic.[113] However, by the fifth century certain races may have had an athletic aspect as well, for Aristophanes complains that the Panathenaic torch-racers of his day were inadequate due to lack of training.[114] Such training, and the start of this popular event, probably took place in the Academy.

At times in the fifth and fourth centuries the Academy housed Athenian and foreign troops, perhaps attracted by the wide spaces and water supply. Pausanias of Sparta encamped his troops in the Academy in 405, and ca. 370 the Athenian general Iphikrates ordered his men to dine in the Academy.[115] Xenophon refers to cavalry processions as if they were periodic events in the Academy, although the "hard ground" there demanded certain precautions.[116] Manœuvres similar to the *anthippasia* are described in the Academy, but the mention of observation by the *boule* may suggest military reviews.[117] Such military and equestrian (possibly agonistic) use of the

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[109] Ar. *Nub.* 1005-08. Cf. the Platonic descriptions (*Phdr.* 229a-b, 230b) of the Ilissos area (possibly a sacred grove to Achelous), with trees and shade, as a place suitable for girls to play in.

[110] In Ar. *Nub.* 1002 ἐν γυμνασίοις in the plural means "gymnastic exercises" rather than "gymnasia": *LSJ* s.v.

[111] Ar. *Nub.* 1002-08. Just below (1009-20) Aristophanes contrasts the physical fitness of products of the Old Education (of the Academy) and the New Education (of the Agora).

[112] Wycherley, *Stones*, 220, sees the Agora/Academy antithesis as artificial and unsound because the fifth-century Academy undoubtedly contributed to Athenian intellectual development.

[113] Paus. 1.30.2; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2: 391-92; Ar. *Ran.* 129-33, 1087-98; Schol. on *Ran.* 131. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 200, notes that the earliest evidence of torch races is early classical.

[114] Ar. *Ran.* 1087-88.

[115] Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.8, 6.5.49.

[116] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.1; 3.14, ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ.

[117] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.14; cf. 3.11.

Academy is to be seen as an occasional addition to its normal athletic and religious functions.[118]

In 388 Plato chose the Academy as the site for his school of philosophy. Perhaps he was attracted to the Academy as a place of public resort with pleasant surroundings, or perhaps it was because the gymnasium was frequented by the best youths of Athens who had the time and money for higher education.[119] Diogenes Laertius says that Plato taught first in the Academy, the suburban gymnasium, and later in his own garden nearby towards Kolonos Hippios.[120] Very little is known of the practical arrangements of the school, but probably its needs were quite limited.[121] Plato's establishment of his school meant expanded functions for the Academy but not an architectural transformation. A modern conception of "school" would be inappropriate here: Plato's school simply mean the regularized interaction of the master and his students.[122] Although the foundation of the Platonic Academy is of tremendous significance, it is important again to realize that the educational use of the Academy co-existed with, rather than replaced, the earlier functions of the gymnasium.[123]

Historically, the initial significance of the Academy was related to its physical setting and religious associations; it was a pleasant spot for shrines and cults including the Sacred House and the House of Hekademos. In the sixth century, with the rise of the festivals and athletics at Athens, the site seems to have developed athletically. The metopes and antefixes of the second half of the sixth century may be relevant, and the Pisistratids apparently were prominent in the decoration and delimitation of the area. Nevertheless, the athletic facility probably was still a natural, rudimentary gymnasium. In the fifth century the Academy developed architecturally as a gymnasium, primarily through the benefactions of Kimon. Some classical poros blocks

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[118] State funeral games for the war dead apparently were held in the Academy (Philostr. *VS* 2.30; cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 58; Pl. *Menex.* 249b), but the issue is complex. See above, p. 42ff.

[119] Cf. Marrou, *Education*, 103, who suggests Plato chose the Academy for its religious associations rather than its convenience since (according to Ael. *VH* 9.10) it was an unhealthy spot.

[120] Diog. Laer. 3.5.7; Apul. *De dog. Plat.* 1.4. Wycherley, *Stones*, 221, feels that Plato continued to use the gymnasium as well as the private house and garden, distinguishing between a more open and a more intimate place of instruction.

[121] Ath. 2.59d-f quotes Epikrates (Edmonds *FAC* frag. 11, Middle Comedy) referring to boys as if ἐν λέσχαις in the Academy. Since λέσχη could mean "lounge" or simply "talking," this says nothing definite about the school. The location of an *exedra*, referred to in Diog. Laer. 4.19, is vague and pertains to the lifetime of Polemo. It would be tempting to suggest that the foundations of the peristyle dating to the second half of the fourth century were related to Plato's school, but the function of the structure is uncertain.

[122] See H. Cherniss, *The Riddle of the Early Academy*, who depicts the school as informal, lacking a metaphysical orthodoxy, and having minimal needs.

[123] J.P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School* (Berkeley, 1972), 60-61.

reused in the late gymnasium perhaps were involved. The peristyle of the second half of the fourth century possibly may be related to the development of Plato's school. Much of the evidence deals with the expanding educational and military functions of the Academy in the fourth century, yet overall the pre-Hellenistic Academy remained an architecturally modest, pleasant park area and a major centre of Athenian athletics.

Lyceum

The Academy and the Lyceum, Athens' second major gymnasium, both began as sanctuaries, achieved architectural status probably in the fifth century, and became most famous as sites of schools of philosophy.[124] Scattered evidence suggests that the ancient sanctuary called the Lyceum housed an archaic gymnasium, and that an architectural gymnasium was built under Pericles. This was reconstructed or enhanced by Lycurgus and became the site of Aristotle's school.

Originally the Lyceum was the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, the Wolf-Slayer God, a very ancient, perhaps pre-Hellenic divinity.[125] Pausanias states that the Lyceum had been a sanctuary to Apollo from the beginning and continued to be so in his day.[126] The existence of the Lyceum as a public sanctuary in archaic Athens also has been asserted on the basis of an inscription of 410 apparently containing material from a late sixth-century document referring to the Lyceum.[127] Although the Lyceum's shrines and religious associations are not as numerous as those of the Academy, one need not accept Lynch's suggestion that the connection of athletics with the Lyceum was "fortuitous." All three Athenian gymnasia arose in religious sanctuaries and the gods were very much involved in Athenian athletics.[128] The Lyceum was perhaps a less hallowed, but not necessarily a less athletic, sanctuary.

After much debate about the location of the Lyceum, progress has come from the combined testimony of ancient literature, inscriptions and archaeo-

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[124] On the Lyceum: Lynch, *Aristotle's School*; Delorme, *Gym.*, 42-45, 54-58; Wycherley, *Stones*, 226-29; Travlos, *PDA*, 345-47; Boersma, *ABP*, no. XXV.

[125] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 9; see S. Krause, s.v. Λύκειος, *PW* XIII (1927), 2268-70; Farnell, *Cults*, 4: 113-35.

[126] Paus. 1.9.3; he also says Apollo was first called Lykeios at Athens. Plut. *Thes.* 27.5, based on the Atthidographer Kleidemos (*FGrH* IIIB, 323 F18), mentions the Lyceum in his account of the war of Theseus against the Amazons.

[127] *IG* I² 114.35, ἐν Λυ[κεί]ο[ι]. Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 10, sees this as the earliest mention of the Lyceum. J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley, 1955), 15-17, dates the older document to just after 508; cf. *SEG* X 119.

[128] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 13. Of the several Greek shrines to Apollo Lykeios only the Athenian one had a gymnasium, but the relationship between cults and athletics at Athens was not coincidental.

logy.[129] Literary sources generally place the Lyceum to the southeast of the city and outside the city wall, but again it is important to realize that "Lyceum" was applied to both the gymnasium and the sanctuary, and later to the philosophical school.[130] Inconsistencies in the literary topographical references are understandable if the gymnasium lay close to the wall within a larger sanctuary extending out to the southeast.

Inscriptions and archaeology confirm this general location for the sanctuary.[131] Two dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo have come from outside the ancient city wall in the Garden of Amalia (as the National Gardens used to be called). Since *IG* II² 1945 of A.D. 45/46 mentions gymnasium officials, the reference is probably to the Lyceum although it is not specified.[132] The second inscription, from the first century, refers to a gymnasiarch and so probably also came from the Lyceum.[133] While differing in their interpretations of some ruins in the area,[134] both Travlos and Lynch agree that the sanctuary lay in the region of the National Gardens.[135]

The exact location of the classical gymnasium complex within the sanctuary is uncertain. A dedication of the first century by an *epimeletes* of the Lyceum (ἐπιμελετῆς Λυκείου Ἀπόλλωνι) was found near the Church of St. Nikodemos two blocks south of Syntagma Square. Under the same church were found Roman baths preceded by baths of the classical era.[136] Lynch sees a

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[129] Suggested locations have included Syntagma Square, Wycherley, *Stones*, 228-29; Travlos, *PDA*, 345; Kolonaki Square, Judeich, *Topog.*, 415; the present Byzantine Museum, C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* (Leipzig, 1874), 1 : fig. 1. Farnell, *Cults*, 4 : 117, even suggests a site south of the Acropolis. See Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 16-29, fig. 1; Travlos, *PDA*, 345, figs. 219, 379. For the locations see Map C (= Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379).

[130] Pl. *Lysis* 203a locates the Lyceum outside the wall on the road from the Academy, as do Plut. *Sull.* 12.3 and Livy 31.24.18). Strabo (9.1.19) states that the springs of the Eridanos were outside the Diochares Gate near the Lyceum, suggesting a location very close to the wall and gate; yet elsewhere (9.1.24) he says that the Ilissos flowed from the area above Agrai and the Lyceum. Furthermore, Plut. *Thes.* 27.5 associates the Lyceum with the Palladion and Mt. Ardettos, suggesting a location a considerable distance beyond the wall to the southeast.

[131] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 24-26, notes the near absence of graves in the proposed area of the Lyceum and points out that clusters of graves have not been found in the area south of Syntagma Square and the Old Royal Palace. He feels this confirms the location since an early sanctuary would have inhibited burials in the area. See D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, 1971), maps 2-4.

[132] Daniel J. Geagan, "The Athenian Constitution after Sulla," *Hesp.* Suppl. 12 (1967), 160-61; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, app. A, 211-12.

[133] *IG* II² 2999 (possibly related to *IG* II² 2875).

[134] Travlos, *PDA*, 345, fig. 379, no. 205, interprets some ruins in the area of the National Gardens as part of a shrine to Apollo; but Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 22, following Judeich, *Topog.*, fig. 1.5, suggests a stoa, perhaps associated with the Peripatetic School.

[135] Some corroboration may come from the suggested location for the Garden of Theophrastos. See E. Vanderpool, "The Museum and the Garden of the Peripatetics," *Arch. Eph.* 92/93 (1953-1954) : 2 : 126-28, discussing Diog. Laer. 5.39,51-53 and *IG* II² 2613 and 2614; but cf. Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 22.

[136] *IG* II² 2875.2-3; K. Pittakes, *Arch. Eph.* 95 (1956), 1449-1456; Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379, no. 203.

classical survival in the former name of the church, sometimes called the Church of St. Lykodemos in the nineteenth century.[137] Nearby, in fact just to the east of Travlos' location for the *dromos* of the Lyceum, excavations in 1965 at No. 4 Xenophontos Street uncovered conglomerate foundations of a large building of the fourth century. Travlos ascribes these to the "*palaestra*" built by Lycurgus in the Lyceum gymnasium.[138] Lynch instead points to ruins just north of the Olympieion, excavated in the nineteenth century, which he sees as a gymnasium of Hadrianic construction.[139] His argument, that the later gymnasium would have been situated on the site of the classical gymnasium, does not outweigh the literary and inscriptional evidence favoring Travlos' "*palaestra*" farther north as the classical site. Since the Lyceum was damaged in later invasions, and since the area is heavily urbanized, the exact site of the early gymnasium may never be verified.[140]

Like the Academy, the Lyceum conceivably housed an archaic, pre-architectural gymnasium;[141] but, as Harpocration notes, ancient sources disagree about who founded the classical gymnasium:

> ἓν τῶν παρ᾿ Ἀθηναίοις γυμνασίων ἐστὶ τὸ Λύκειον, ὃ Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῆι κα̅ Πεισίστρατον ποιῆσαι, Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν τῆι δ̅ Περικλέους φησὶν ἐπιστατοῦντος αὐτὸ γενέσθαι.
>
> The Lyceum is one of the gymnasia at Athens. Theopompus in his twenty-first book says that Pisistratus built it, but Philochorus in his fourth book says that it came into being while Pericles was in charge.[142]

Hesychius agrees with Philochorus and presents the Lyceum as the work of Pericles without mentioning Pisistratus.[143] Perhaps Theopompos is reconcilable if a simple sixth-century gymnasium was destroyed in the Persian sack and then rebuilt by Pericles.[144] Probably the suggested Pisistratid gymnasium would have been unpretentious, and the establishment of a gymnasium in any major architectural sense seems more acceptable as part of the Periclean public building program.

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[137] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 19-21.

[138] The remains are unpublished, but see Travlos, *PDA*, 345, fig. 379, no. 204.

[139] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 23 and ns. 23-24. Travlos, *Poleo.*, 134, once suggested that this was a Hadrianic gymnasium but in *PDA*, 345 and fig. 379, no. 201, he presents it as a "Roman Building."

[140] The Lyceum was devastated by Philip V of Macedon (Livy 31.24.17-18) and damaged in the siege by Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 12.3).

[141] Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 14, is open to the idea of Solonian gymnasia, in an elementary sense, as simple places for exercising but not as elaborate structures. Lucian's *Anacharsis* is set in an archaic Lyceum gymnasium but the dialogue is fictional and anachronistic.

[142] Harp. s.v. Λύκειον (*FGrH* II B, 115 F136; III B, 328 F37).

[143] Hsch. s.v. Λύκειον (ed. K. Latte), τόπος Περικλέους ἐπιστατήσαντος τοῦ ἔργου.

[144] Delorme, *Gym.*, 43; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 14; Boersma, *ABP*, 74; W.R. Connor, *Theopompus and Fifth-Century Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 45-46.

For similar reasons and in a manner similar to the Academy, the Lyceum assumed occasional military functions. Although Aristophanes' most famous reference to the Academy involves athletics, his most famous reference to the Lyceum deals with the Athenian army.

καὶ γὰρ ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἀπ-
ολλύμεθα, καὶ κατατε-
τρίμμεθα πλανώμενοι
εἰς Λύκειον κἀκ Λυκείου σὺν δόρει σὺν ἀσπίδι.

Long enough we've undergone
Toils and sorrows many a one
Worn and spent and sick at heart,
From Lyceum to Lyceum,
trudging on with shield and spear.[145]

A scholiast comments further that military reviews took place in the Lyceum before expeditions, and that this was because the Lyceum lay close to the city.[146] Perhaps because of its proximity the Lyceum may have taken on military functions somewhat earlier than the Academy.[147]

In describing cavalry reviews in the Lyceum Xenophon mentions a cavalry gallop, as in the Academy, and he adds an interesting reference to javelin-throwing.[148] An inscription with part of the Athenian calendar of sacrifices revised by Nikomachos (410-399) includes "to Hermes in the Lyceum"; Hermes was a god of gymnasia and appropriately also had connections with cavalry matters.[149] This military use of the Lyceum by both infantry and cavalry may seem more pronounced than at the Academy, but again this is a secondary and occasional function.

In the fourth century the Lyceum became an increasingly important centre of secondary education.[150] Sources often mention sophists and teachers in the Lyceum, men like Euthydemos, Dionysiodoros and Prodikos of Chios.[151]

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145 Ar. *Pax* 353-56 of 421, trans. B. B. Rogers. Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33 also records that Thrasyllos arrayed the Athenian troops παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον against Agis of Sparta in 410.

146 Schol. on Ar. *Pax* 353 (ed. Fr. Düber); also see Hsch. s.v. Λύκειον (ed. K. Latte).

147 Delorme, *Gym.*, 45, suggests an early military aspect for the Lyceum on the basis of a weak text (*Anecd. Bekk.* 1 : 449) saying that before Solon each archon had a tribunal and that the Polemarch's tribunal was at the Lyceum (s.v. Ἄρχοντες: ὁ πολέμαρχος [δικάζειν] ἐν Λυκείῳ). There seems to be a confusion here with Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3.5, which declares that before Solon the Polemarch resided in a building called the Epilykeion rebuilt by the Polemarch Epilykos. J. E. Sandy's commentary rejects the idea of a Polemarch named Epilykos, suggesting that the early Polemarch officiated ἐπὶ Λυκείῳ rather than ἐν Λυκείῳ; but H. A. Shapiro, "Epilykos Kalos," *Hesp.* 52 (1983): 305-10, takes the name as historical and places it in a stemma of the Philaidai.

148 Xen. *Hipp.* 3.1,6-7; R. E. Wycherley, "Xenophon, *Hipparchicus* 3.6-7: Cavalry at the Lyceum," *CR* n.s. 13 (1963): 14-15.

149 *IG* II^2 1357b.4; see J. H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 4 (1935): 24.

150 See Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 45-46.

151 Pl. *Euthyd.* 271c-d; Ps. Pl. *Eryxias* 397c. Diog. Laer. 9.54 places the first public reading of Protagoras' *On the Gods* by his disciple Archagoras there.

Socrates frequented and conversed regularly in the gymnasium.[152] Some sources present the fourth-century Lyceum in an unfavorable light as a place frequented by sophists "of the common herd" who babble on worthlessly.[153] Although the tie between sophistry and the Lyceum seems even stronger than the Academy, again perhaps due to its closeness to the city, education supplemented but did not supplant the athletic nature of the gymnasium.

An imperfect picture of the Lyceum of about 400 can be drawn from Plato and others.[154] In the *Euthydemus* Plato refers to an "undressing room" (ἐν τῷ ἀποδυτηρίῳ) where Socrates sat and others saw him "from the entrance" (ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου).[155] Some men enter the Lyceum and walk around "the covered track" (ἐν τῷ καταστέγῳ δρόμῳ), possibly beside or around a central court.[156] An outdoor, uncovered *dromos*, apparently of considerable size, is mentioned by Xenophon.[157] Plato shows that the gymnasium had facilities for bathing, and he also mentions "the pillars in the Lyceum" (οἱ κιόνες οἱ ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ).[158] A fifth-century painter, Kleagoras, decorated the walls with allegorical scenes.[159] Although the arrangement of the various structures is uncertain,[160] obviously the Lyceum in the fourth and perhaps in the second half of the fifth century was a well-developed athletic facility, one designed for athletics and also suitable for educational activities.

In 335, since the Academy was already taken and the Lyceum had available facilities and suitable clientele, Aristotle chose the Lyceum as the site for his new school of philosophy.[161] Unlike Plato's Academy, this "Peripatetic"

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[152] Pl. *Euthphr.* 2a; *Euthyd.* 271a; *Lysis* 203a-b; *Symp.* 223d; Aeschines Socraticus frag. 15 (ed. Krauss).

[153] Isoc. *Panath.* 18 (τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν); Antiphanes (*FAC* 2: frag. 122) *apud* Ath. 3.98f; Alexis (*FAC* 2: frag. 25) *apud* Ath. 8.336e-f.

[154] Pl. *Euthyd.* 272e-273b; Delorme, *Gym.*, 54-58; Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 65-67. Lucian *Anacharsis* 7 describes a statue of Apollo in the Lyceum; but cf. Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 11.

[155] Pl. *Euthyd.* 272e, 273b.

[156] Pl. *Euthyd.* 273a. From Pl. *Tht.* 144c and Ar. *Nub.* 1005-08, Gardiner, *GASF*, 472, explains that these covered runs were not for athletes or ephebes except in bad weather; normally they used tracks in the park outside.

[157] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.6; cf. *Hell.* 2.4.27. *Travlos, PDA*, 345, suggests that to accomodate cavalry reviews this *dromos* would have been two stades long. Xen. *Hipp.* 3.7 refers to τὸ κεφάλιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου θεάτρου. This "theatre" was probably just some rising ground in the sanctuary suitable for spectators; Wycherley, *Stones*, 204, places it in the region of Syntagma Square.

[158] Pl. *Symp.* 223d; *Euthyd.* 303b.

[159] Xen. *An.* 7.8.1 τὰ ἐντοίχια ἐν Λυκείῳ.

[160] Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 67, suggests a court with at least an *apodyterion* on one side opposite the entrance; but Delorme, *Gym.*, 55, suggests two separate structures across from each other.

[161] Diog. Laer. 5.2, 5.9-10; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 68-75.

School did not take on the name of the whole site; but it may have been so named after one part of the gymnasium, perhaps a garden walk or a colonnade.[162] Initially Aristotle seems to have taught in the public gymnasium, but Wycherley and Lynch agree that his encyclopaedic program for the organization of knowledge and the collection of specimens would make heavy demands on any gymnasium.[163] For a time the school may have managed by a combined use of the gymnasium and of private property such as the garden later mentioned in the will of Theophrastus.[164] Aristotle's school was more inclined to lectures and instruction than to discussion; and, furthermore, Strabo records that Aristotle was the first to make a collection of books for his school.[165] Hence the school probably needed a library, a museum, and study and lecture halls. Such needs may have led to alterations or additions to the Lyceum, perhaps with Lycurgan involvement. Unlike the Academy, the Peripatetic School probably affected the physical nature as well as the functions of the Lyceum; thus the Hellenistic form of the expanded gymnasium as a self-sufficient educational facility probably originated with Aristotle's Lyceum.

A former student of Plato, the fourth-century orator and statesman Lycurgus controlled civic finances for twelve years and directed money toward his public building program, which included the construction of shipsheds, the reconstruction of the Theatre of Dionysus, the establishment of the Panathenaic Stadium, and certain additions or alterations to the Lyceum.[166] Pausanias claims that Lycurgus constructed (ᾠκοδόμησε) the gymnasium at or near the so-called Lyceum (τὸ πρὸς τῷ Λυκείῳ καλουμένῳ γυμνάσιον).[167] Pseudo-Plutarch refers to the construction of a gymnasium and also the plantation of trees and the building of a *palaestra* (καὶ τὸ ἐν Λυκείῳ γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ ἐφύτευσε καὶ τὴν παλαίστραν ᾠκοδόμησε).[168] Subsequently Pseudo-Plutarch says that Lycurgus had a record of his public acts on tablet set up "in front of the *palaestra* that he built," thus apparently at the Lyceum.[169]

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[162] Ps. Galen *Historia Philosophia* 4 (Diels *Dox. Graec.* 602). See K.O. Brink, s.v. Peripatos, *PW* Suppl. VII (1940), 899-904; Delorme, *Gym.*, 334; Wycherley, *Stones*, 227. Possibly the name was derived from Aristotle's practice of walking up and down with his students before it was time to oil up for exercising; see Diog. Laer. 5.1.2.

[163] Wycherley, *Stones*, 227; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 90-91.

[164] Diog. Laer. 5.2.51. See Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 106-34; and A.H. Chroust, "Did Aristotle Own a School at Athens?" *Rh. Mus.* 115 (1972): 310-18.

[165] Strab. 13.1.54; cf. Ath. 5.214d.

[166] Diog. Laer. 3.46; Olympiodorus on *Gorgias* 515d; Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 7.841b; 843e. It is possible that Platonic ideas on athletics influenced Lycurgus; F.W. Mitchel, "Athens in the Age of Alexander," *G&R* 12 (1965): 192.

[167] Paus. 1.29.16.

[168] Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 7.841c-d; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 15.

[169] Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 843f πρὸ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαίστρας.

In 307 a decree of the Athenian people proposed by Stratokles honored Lycurgus and recounted his acts. This decree, recorded by Pseudo-Plutarch and appended to his life of Lycurgus, declared that in addition to "completing" many other works Lycurgus "built the gymnasium at the Lyceum" (καί τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατεσκεύασε).[170] Fragments of the inscribed decree have been found, although not at the Lyceum; one fragment by extensive reconstruction may include: τ[ὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατεσκεύ]ασεν.[171] Such sources thus refer to the building of a "*gymnasium*," but independent evidence proves that the Lyceum already had a gymnasium.[172] Furthermore, Pseudo-Plutarch adds two references to the establishment of a "*palaestra*" by Lycurgus. A Lycurgan *palaestra* may seem more likely in that no *palaestra* is specifically mentioned at the Lyceum prior to the era of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus could not have been the original founder of the Lyceum gymnasium since it received architectural expression considerably earlier, probably in the fifth century. Rather the Lycurgan program may have included repairs or a remodelling of the gymnasium.[173] The primary meaning of κατασκευάζειν is "to prepare, furnish or equip again or anew" whereas "to build" is a secondary meaning.[174] Hence Lycurgus might have added renovations or even simply provided equipment or supplies, or the construction of the *palaestra* within the gymnasium might be considered a renovation.[175] Lycurgus' attention may have been drawn to the Lyceum by the needs of the new philosophical school[176]; and, at any rate, Delorme's conclusion stands: "L'état définitif du Lycée à l'époque classique est dû aux soins de l'orateur Lycurgue."[177]

This review of the evidence for the Lyceum suggests that Pisistratus may have fostered a rudimentary gymnasium in an ancient sanctuary to the

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170 Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 852c.

171 *IG* II^2 457b.7-8; *SIG* III 326; Kirchner's reconstruction should be retained over Delorme's suggestion, *Gym.*, 42, of ἐπισκευάζειν. Although the two fragments came from the Agora and Theatre of Dionysus, Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 31 n. 33, still regards them as part of the tablet ordered by Lycurgus and set up in front of his *palaestra*.

172 For example, Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33. Again we may be dealing with a loose usage of the terms.

173 Delorme, *Gym.*, 56-57; Lynch, *Aristotle's School*, 15-16. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* mentions a plane tree in the Lyceum beside the water channel (κατὰ τὸν ὀχετόν), perhaps a Lycurgan renovation.

174 *LSJ*, s.v. κατασκευάζειν. Note that in Ps. Plut. 841c-d and 852c the reference to the Lyceum is in the context of equiping the fleet and completing the stadium and the Theatre of Dionysus.

175 Travlos, *PDA*, 345. The foundations discovered on Xenophontos Street may have some relationship to a Lycurgan *palaestra*.

176 Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens," 200-01, feels Lycurgus built a *palaestra* and a gymnasium in response to the need for better places to drill and train the ephebes. He also suggests that the transformation of the Lyceum may have attracted Aristotle and that Lycurgus may have encouraged the establishment of the school.

177 Delorme, *Gym.*, 56-57.

southeast of the city, but that the architectural gymnasium as revealed in Plato was probably the work of Pericles. Under Lycurgus the Lyceum became a renovated or enlarged facility, more suitable to the growing needs of the Peripatetic School and foreshadowing the gymnasia of the Hellenistic era. Compared to the Academy, the military and educational functions of the Lyceum seem more pronounced while its cult associations seem fewer. Overall the Lyceum seems to have been a less prestigious or august athletic facility than the Academy, yet apparently it was more civically involved.

KYNOSARGES

Kynosarges, the third major gymnasium of pre-Hellenistic Athens, is most intriguing because the evidence for it is so limited and problematic.[178] Famous primarily as a sanctuary of Herakles, the site also housed a gymnasium in classical times. A suggestion of social discrimination and an apparent lack of military and educational functions contribute to the distinctive nature of this athletic facility.

Conforming to the pattern of the establishment of gymnasia in sanctuaries, Kynosarges was sacred to athletically-appropriate Herakles. Pausanias comments:

> ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμόν ....
>
> There is a sanctuary of Herakles called Kynosarges: the things about the white dog may be known by reading the oracle ....[179]

Apparently the cult of Herakles was the original and main cult, while the shrines to his friends, unmentioned in pre-Hellenistic sources, may be later additions.[180] The story of the white dog is an obscure, aetiological legend about the name "Kynosarges," which itself may have influenced the name of the Cynic school of philosophy.[181] In classical times Herakles certainly was a god of the gymnasium, but it is debatable whether the early existence of a Herakleion presupposes a site of athletic activity at Kynosarges.[182]

A discussion of the debated location of the gymnasium incorporates much

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[178] On Kynosarges: Delorme, *Gym.*, 45-49, 58-59; Wycherley, *Stones*, 229-31; Travlos, *PDA*, 340-41, 579.

[179] Paus. 1.19.3; he refers to altars to Herakles, Hebe, Alkmene and Iolaos.

[180] Judeich, *Topog.*, 423-24 on Schol. on Dem. 24.114 (ed. Dindorf). Delorme, *Gym.*, 338, suggests that there was an unroofed *temenos* to Alcmene, Hebe and Iolaos in classical times, but there is no proof of this.

[181] Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2: 193-94; cf. *Suda*, s.v. Κυνόσαργες.

[182] W.K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, Part One (Berkeley, 1965), 88-93, discussing the Herakleion at Marathon; cf. E. Vanderpool, "The Deme of Marathon and the Herakleion," *AJArch.* 70 (1966): 319-23; S. Woodford, "Cults of Heracles in Attica," *Studies Presented to G.M.A. Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), 211-25.

scattered and incidental material. A major problem is that most contemporary references are to "the Herakleion" or "in Kynosarges" rather than "in the gymnasium." Literary sources, agreeing only that Kynosarges lay outside the city,[183] at best suggest only a vague location in the southeastern suburbs of Athens.[184] Inscriptional and archaeological evidence has produced two rival theories.[185] Travlos argues for a site south of the Ilissos, southwest of the Olympieion, near the Church of St. Panteleimon. Wycherley admits that this location is level and suitable, but he follows Judeich in preferring a site further southwest and downstream (near the present Fix brewery) where he notes leveller ground, more room and command of the approach from Phaleron.

Indecisive inscriptional evidence is interpreted variously according to different theories.[186] For example, disagreement exists over a fragment of a decree of 420 concerning tanners and prohibiting the treatment of hides in the Ilissos above "the *temenos* of Herakles." Stelai with the decree were to be set up "on either side," presumably of the river.[187] Wycherley suggests a spot just south of Athens, clear of the suburbs and shrines to the southeast of the city.[188] Travlos contends that the region near the spring of Kallirrhoe

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[183] Plut. *Them.* 1; Livy 31.24.

[184] Diog. Laer. 6.113 places Kynosarges "a little outside the gates," perhaps beyond the Diomeian gate; Ar. *Ran.* 651 mentions a festival of Herakles in the deme of Diomeia, and the Scholiast puts Kynosarges in this deme; see Deubner, *Feste*, 226 and Parke, *Festivals*, 51. However, Hdt. 5.63, referring to the tomb of the Spartan leader Anchimolios, associates Kynosarges with Alopeke. Ps. Pl. *Axiochus* 363a refers to Socrates, en route to Kynosarges, finding himself near the Ilissos and seeing a friend coming from the direction of Kallirrhoe. Paus. 1.19.4 mentions the Lyceum immediately after Kynosarges, which might seem to imply proximity, but Pausanias is not topographically explicit here. He may be listing monuments of related character without consideration of their topographical sequence. See R.E. Wycherley, "Pausanias at Athens, II," *GRBS* 4 (1963): 170-72. References to Isocrates may simply imply the proximity of Kynosarges to the Lyceum. The anonymous *Life of Isocrates* (lines 108-09, Westermann, p. 257) says Isocrates taught in a private building near the Lyceum; and Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 883b says Isocrates was buried with his family near Kynosarges. Together these may suggest that his family owned land in the general area of Kynosarges and the Lyceum.

[185] For locations in the Ilissos area, see Map C (= Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379). Travlos, *Poleo.*, 54, 91; *PDA*, 340-41, 579, figs. 219 and 379, no. 192; Judeich, *Topog.*, 422-24; Wycherley, *Stones*, 229-30.

[186] A fourth-century decree concerning tripod bases specifically mentions ἐν Κυνοσάργει; see *IG* II^2 1665.3; and D.M. Robinson, "Inscriptions at Athens," *AJPhil.* 28 (1907): 425-30, no. 3. Wycherley and Judeich feel it supports their location, while Travlos disagrees and points out that the stone was found near the Church of St. Panteleimon.

[187] S. Karouzou, *Delt.* 8 (1923): 97; *SEG* III (1929) 6, no. 18.

[188] Wycherley, *Stones*, 230. His location gets some support from a fourth-century Herakles relief found south of the Ilissos a little south of the modern Fix brewery; see D.M. Robinson, "A New Herakles Relief," *Hesp.* 17 (1948): 137-40. Such a votive offering would be appropriate to Kynosarges, but there is no specific topographical reference. On three decrees of the tribe Antiochis found in the area and possibly related to the Herakleion, see *SEG* III (1929) 6, nos. 115-117.

is more suitable for tanners, noting the unfailing water supply and the use of the site by tanners during and after the Turkish occupation.[189] Unfortunately, since the stone was found just south of the Lysiskrates monument, either topographical interpretation is possible.

Travlos sees proof for his location in two inscriptions which he associates with the *dromos* of Kynosarges. An ephebic decree of the second century after Christ refers to τὸν πρὸς Ἄγρας δρόμον ἅπαντες οἱ ἔφηβοι.[190] Agrai extended along the south bank of the Ilissos; and Travlos suggests that the *dromos*, which Kynosarges must have had, began near the Church of St. Panteleimon and ended to the southwest in Agrai. This is the only level place in the area along the south bank of the Ilissos as well as being near Kallirhoe. Travlos also tries to support his argument with a victor dedication from the second quarter of the sixth century which could be reconstructed to read "the *dromos* toward Agrai."[191] However, the reconstruction is very uncertain, and only a tenuous connection can be made to the much later ephebic reference to a *dromos* at Agrai. Furthermore, neither of these inscriptions specify Kynosarges.

In the late nineteenth century the British School at Athens excavated south of the Olympieion (on the south bank of the Ilissos to the east of the Church of St. Panteleimon) and found the ruins of an archaic building over which a Roman bath had been built.[192] The discovery of the "Gymnasium of Kynosarges" was announced, but the original plans are lost and the excavations were only briefly outlined in preliminary reports.[193] C. Smith wrote of finding foundations of a wall apparently belonging to a large public building, and he suggested that the wall had supported good masonry but was razed to its foundations at a later date.[194] He argued that the general shape and size of the foundations suited an early Greek gymnasium. Many early graves were found around the area but those in the "gymnasium" were earlier than the sixth or later than the fourth century. Smith therefore concluded that these were remains of an archaic gymnasium of Kynosarges, ultimately destroyed by Philip V of Macedon.[195] The graves do suggest an archaic

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[189] Travlos, *PDA*, 340.

[190] *IG* II^2 2119.128; Travlos, *PDA*, 340.

[191] Raubitschek, *DAA*, no. 318, gives an admittedly "quite uncertain" restoration including Ἄγρα[ς τὸ στάδιον]. Pointing to the location of the Lycurgan stadium in Agrai, he suggests a possible reference to early games at Agrai but he does not mention Kynosarges. The dedication may be an example of the type later regulated by the decree concerning tripods (*IG* II^2 1665), but *DAA* 318 was found on the Acropolis and the stone was reused.

[192] Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379, no. 193, on the baths, see p. 180F.

[193] C. Smith, *BSA* 2 (1895/96): 22-25, 50; *BSA* 3 (1896/97): 232-33; W. Dörpfeld, *AM* 21 (1896): 463-64.

[194] C. Smith, *BSA* 2 (1895/96): 24.

[195] Livy 31.24.17; Diod. Sic. 28.7; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 15.

date for the structure, which Travlos prefers to call a *palaestra*, but the archaeological details are simply too inconclusive.[196]

The same early excavations found, "in an adjoining field," a large Roman building suggested at that time to be the gymnasium built by Hadrian and noted by Pausanias.[197] Fortunately this structure was rediscovered in the course of excavations in 1969 about 180 metres east of the Church of St. Panteleimon. The identification as the gymnasium built by Hadrian appears to be confirmed.[198] However, the earlier "gymnasium" has not been rediscovered and may not be since the area is heavily built over. Possibly the destruction by Philip V left no remains any more definite than those indicated by Smith.[199] In sum, archaeology gives some support for Travlos' location of the gymnasium of Kynosarges, but the larger sanctuary could have extended some distance to the southwest.

Historically very little is known about Kynosarges as an athletic facility in pre-Hellenistic Athens. No contemporary reference specifically to the "gymnasium" has appeared prior to Demosthenes' unreliable attribution to Solon of a law concerning theft from gymnasia.[200] A relationship between the tyranny and the popularity of Herakles at Athens might imply Pisistratid interest in Kynosarges, but proof is lacking.[201] Herodotus mentions Kynosarges, but only as a Herakleion, concerning a tomb site and the encampment after the battle of Marathon.[202] An encampment implies a large area and a water supply, but Herodotus does not mention athletics or a gymnasium. Pindar does mention games at the other well-known Herakleion at Marathon,[203] but the existence of Kynosarges as an archaic athletic facility remains no more than a reasonable assumption.

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[196] Travlos, *PDA*, 340. Judeich, *Topog.*, 422, was unconvinced by the remains; and Wycherley, *Stones*, 229-30, still feels the original gymnasium of Kynosarges lay elsewhere.

[197] Paus. 1.18.9. The identification is supported by an inscription with a letter of Hadrian concerning a gymnasium; see *IG* II^2 1102 and Th. Sauciuc, "Ein Hadriansbrief und das Hadriansgymnasium in Athen," *AM* 37 (1912): 183-89.

[198] The structure is a large peristyle 64 m. north to south by over 80 m. east to west. The east end and the entrance have not been found. Colonnades bordered a central court on three sides and the west end was closed by a wall and a large room. See J. Travlos, "Τὸ Γυμνάσιον τοῦ Κυνοσάργους," *AAA* 3 (1970): 6-14, plan 2; O. Alexandri, *Delt.* 27 (1972): Chron. 65, 100-102; Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 379, no. 194.

[199] Livy 31.24.18, perhaps exaggerating for effect, claims that Philip, in his fury, burned and demolished Kynosarges utterly.

[200] Dem. 24.114; C. Smith, *BSA* 2 (1895/96): 22-25, questionably supports his early dating of remains by reference to this law.

[201] J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* fasc. 1 (1972): 60, feels that it may well be that the Herakles sanctuaries at Athens and Marathon were founded during the tyranny. Delorme, *Gym.*, 46, favors both an archaic gymnasium at Kynosarges and the role of the tyrants.

[202] Hdt. 5.63, 6.116.

[203] Pind. *Ol.* 9.89.

A slight digression is needed here to deal with Plutarch's famous anecdote about Kynosarges.

> διότι καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων—τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν—, ἔπειθέ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

> It was for the reason given [Themistocles' parentage] and because the aliens [*nothoi*] were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Herakles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something foreign about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.[204]

According to Plutarch Kynosarges was a gymnasium in the last quarter of the sixth century, and the youthful Themistocles ended a social discrimination (from διορίζω) between well-born youths and illegitimates (*nothoi*). Accordingly, some believe that Kynosarges was reserved for residents of non-citizen birth who were unacceptable elsewhere,[205] but Themistocles' status as a *nothos* is very questionable. In fact, this story is weak evidence for a gymnasium at Kynosarges in any advanced stage—or for social discrimination in athletic facilities—in early Athens.[206]

In its earliest and commonest use *nothos* means a bastard or someone born out of wedlock (νόθος rather than γνήσιος),[207] but by inferred definition Plutarch's *nothoi* were sons of foreign mothers—half-breeds like Themistocles and Herakles. In 451/50 a law by Pericles decreed that anyone who was not born of two citizen parents was not to have a share in the citizenship.[208]

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[204] Plut. *Them.* 1.3, trans F.C. Babbitt; retold in Libanius *Dec.* 10.11.

[205] Parke, *Festivals*, 51; Gardiner, *GASF*, 468. On the basis of a fragment of an Ionic capital possibly from a *palaestra* at Kynosarges, P. Rodeck, "The Ionic Capital of the Gymnasium at Kynosarges," *BSA* 3 (1896/97): 89-105, suggests that an archaic gymnasium had been destroyed by the Persians and restored by Themistocles. This appears to be an over-reaction to Smith's enthusiasm, and Delorme, *Gym.*, 58, calls it "une hypothèse plausible mais gratuite."

[206] On the issue of *nothoi* and Kynosarges, see S.C. Humphreys, "The Nothoi of Kynosarges," *JHS* 94 (1974): 88-95, who rejects Plutarch's story as evidence for a *nothoi*-Kynosarges tie in archaic Athens; and Frank J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles, A Historical Commentary* (Princeton, 1980), 61-63. Delorme, *Gym.*, 45-46, feels the story better suits the fourth than the sixth century.

[207] K. Latte, s.v. Nothoi, PW XVIII (1936), 106-74. For example, Ar. *Av.* 1660-65 (Ruschenbusch, *Solonos Nomoi*, F50a) credits Solon with a law concerning illegitimacy (cf. Dem. 43.51, Ruschenbusch, F50b and Humphreys, "Nothoi," 89 n. 5). Here *nothos* must mean 'bastard' rather than 'half-breed'; otherwise Themistocles and many others would have been disinherited by such a law. Furthermore, Solon is said to have encouraged the settlement of foreigners at Athens (Plut. *Sol.* 24).

[208] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26.4; Plut. *Per.* 37.3; cf. Ael. *VH* 6.10. Hignett, *Athenian Constitution*, App. X, "The Citizenship Law of 451/540," 343-47, argues that this was a non-retroactive law

Thus *nothoi* in the sense of half-breeds were disenfranchised and reduced to the status of bastard *nothoi* and presumably disappeared into the metic class. Themistocles was the product of a legitimate marriage between an Athenian and a foreign woman, and he undoubtedly was a citizen since he became archon.[209] His blood was impure only in that his mother was an alien, and this was no disgrace in early Athens.[210] Young aristocrats, in fact, sought out foreign brides, and children of such unions were not only citizens but leading statesmen like Kimon and Kleisthenes. Later the Periclean law denied citizenship to such sons of foreign mothers (*metroxenoi*), but Themistocles in archaic Athens can be seen as a *nothos* only by anachronistic definition.

Humphreys makes an involved but strong argument that the *nothoi* of Kynosarges were a group of proud, upper-class half-breeds who perhaps formed a *thiasos* to Herakles in archaic Kynosarges.[211] Disfranchised by Pericles but still recognized by the state, these men served as *parasitoi* (companions in a sacred feast) in the fifth century but through the fourth century they ceased to be significant.[212] Probably they disappeared into the metic class and *nothoi* then simply meant bastard. The issue of *nothoi* remains uncertain but its significance for Kynosarges as an athletic facility should not be overstated.

Plutarch's anecdote may simply be unhistorical, a late invention exposed by the lack of a distinction between mixed and pure descent in the citizenry of archaic Athens.[213] Plutarch knew from Demosthenes that Kynosarges was a gymnasium and that it had been associated with *nothoi*.[214] Perhaps understandably confused, or perhaps influenced by Aristotle and Athenian

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designed to preserve the purity of the citizen stock. Humphreys, "Nothoi," 93-94, agrees that the aim was to discourage foreign marriage ties which could complicate Athenian foreign policy.

209 Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 60-64, discusses Themistocles' parentage, discounting his illegitimacy and suggesting his aristocratic status (from Lysias 30.27-28 and Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 28.1). Also see Davies, *APF*, 6669 and Peter Bicknell, "Themistocles' Father and Mother," *Hist.* 31 (1982): 161-73. Plutarch himself (*Them.* 1.4) believes Themistocles belonged to the *genos* of the Lykomidae; also see Nepos *Themistocles* 1.1-2.

210 For a general treatment, see J. M. Hannick, "Droit de cité et mariages mixtes dans la Grèce classique," *L'antiquité classique* 45 (1976): 133-48.

211 Humphreys, "Nothoi," 88-95, asserts a religious rather than a political use of *syntelein* (as a term for payment of contributions for sacrifices) in Plutarch (cf. *Mor.* 750). Her discussion of *nothos* rests on Dem. 23.213 and Ath. 6234e (Polemon frag. 78, Preller), a decree proposed by Alcibiades concerning *parasitoi* and *nothoi* inscribed on a stele which stood in the Herakleion of Kynosarges. *IG* I² 129 may be a fragmentary version of the decree, including [Ἀλκιβ]ιάδης and hεϱά]κλειον τ[ὸ ἐν Κυνοσάργει--] but only by extensive restoration.

212 Antisthenes, the son of a Thracian mother (Diog. Laer. 6.1), would have been a conspicuous example of a half-breed *nothos* in the fourth century. Could his association with Kynosarges (see below) have been influenced by an earlier experience as a *parasitos* there?

213 Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 62-63, rather abruptly comes to this conclusion without considering the possibility that Plutarch misinterpreted some account based on fact.

214 Dem. 24.114, 23.214.

tradition, Plutarch regarded Themistocles as strongly pro-democratic, a man who would oppose social discrimination and seek its demise.[215] Hence an anecdote of a cunning Themistocles exercising with well-born youths at Kynosarges would complement Plutarch's conception (and enliven his *Life*) of Themistocles.

On the other hand, the anecdote may imperfectly preserve some historical content. Themistocles was of mixed parentage and Kynosarges' ties with athletics and *nothoi* may be quite early. Other incidents in Themistocles' life associate him with games and athletic facilities, and Athenian politicians were aware of the political value of such associations.[216] If Themistocles frequented Kynosarges or brought well-born youths there his concern would not have been social discrimination. Rather Themistocles may have been acting as an ambitious young politician recruiting political support in this or any suitable setting. Thus the story may say more about Themistocles as a politician—or Plutarch as a biographer—than about Kynosarges as an athletic facility.

The scattered and indefinite sources about Kynosarges and *nothoi*, in fact, reveal little about the history of the athletic facility. Kynosarges included a Herakleion and perhaps functioned as a pre-architectural gymnasium in archaic times, but then and later there is no sound evidence of the segregation of half-breed Athenians in this or other athletic facilities. Certainly the cult of the *nothos* Herakles added to the fame of Kynosarges, and a *thiasos*, a voluntary association of men gathering to worship and exercise, could have included half-breeds drawn by the suitability of Herakles; but no social stigma should be assumed. Although Pericles' law affected their constitutional status, *nothoi* as non-citizens still would not be excluded from, or restricted to, Kynosarges. Foreigners definitely visited other gymnasia, and well-born Athenians could visit Kynosarges:[217] only slaves were legally excluded from the public gymnasia.[218] Plutarch's account may have some basis but it cannot be taken at face value; Kynosarges' association with the *nothoi* need not have affected the functioning of the gymnasium as an athletic facility. Kynosarges was the least prestigious and least elaborate major

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[215] Frank J. Frost, "Themistocles' Place in Athenian Politics," in T.S. Brown and W.K. Pritchett, eds., *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), vol. 1, 105-24, discussing the development of Themistocles' image as a *novus homo*, democrat and radical, suggests Plutarch was influenced by Aristotle who reduced post-Kleisthenic Athenian politics to two factions with Themistocles as the leader of the pro-democratic party (*Ath. Pol.* 28.2).

[216] See P91 and below, p. 162ff.

[217] Pl. *Euthyd.*; Andoc. 1.61; Ps. Pl. *Axiochus* 364a. Plutarch himself must have believed that Kynosarges was open to all since Themistocles was able to take the young nobles there to exercise.

[218] Aeschin. *In Tim.* 1.138.

Athenian gymnasium, but this may involve many factors as well as its association with *nothoi*.

Even in the classical era most references are to Kynosarges as a sanctuary and not necessarily an athletic facility.[219] Aristophanes mentions a festival of Herakles held in the deme of Diomeia, probably at Kynosarges, but it is uncertain if athletics were involved.[220] The fourth-century inscription concerning tripods does mention Kynosarges,[221] and tripods would be appropriate athletic dedications. However, it is not until Demosthenes that Kynosarges is explicitly designated as a "gymnasium." Since Demosthenes contends that Solon legislated concerning Kynosarges as a gymnasium, it seems likely that a gymnasium had been in existence for some time and was probably mentioned in the law code of Nikomachos. When Kynosarges actually became a gymnasium (rudimentary or architectural) as well as a sanctuary must remain imprecise. Although the Herakleion was famous and housed rites involving *nothoi*, very little can be said about the elements or architectural nature of the gymnasium of Kynosarges.

No sound case can be made for recurrent military use of Kynosarges. The encampment in Herodotus was an isolated incident engendered by fear of a Persian attack from Phaleron.[222] Andocides mentions an injury received while riding at Kynosarges, but this single incident should not be overused to suggest equestrian training at Kynosarges.[223] Xenophon's treatment of cavalry exercises conspicuously omits Kynosarges. One encampment and one horserider compare poorly with the evidence for the military and equestrian use of the Academy and Lyceum.

In the fourth century Kynosarges apparently became associated with developments in philosophy, but the relationship between this gymnasium and sophistry or higher education is less pronounced. Antisthenes frequented Kynosarges, and Diogenes Laertius connects the gymnasium with the followers of Diogenes the Cynic:

> διελέγετο δ' ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν πυλῶν· ὅθεν τινὲς καὶ τὴν κυνικὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομασθῆναι. αὐτός τ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἁπλοκύων.
>
> He [Antisthenes] used to converse in the gymnasium of Kynosarges a little away from the gates, wherefore some think the Cynic school was named from that place. He himself was nicknamed a simple dog.[224]

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[219] For example, *IG* II² 310.135-37,239-40,308 (of 429/8) and 324.65,92 (Meiggs and Lewis, *Inscriptions*, no. 72) (of 426 and 422) both refer to accounts of a Herakleion.

[220] Ar. *Ran*. 651 and Schol.; see Parke, *Festivals*, 50-51.

[221] *IG* II² 1665.3.

[222] Hdt. 6.116.

[223] Andoc. *Myst*. 61 ὕστερον δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν Κυνοσάργει ἐπὶ πωλίον ὅ μοι ἦν ἀναβὰς ἔπεσον .... J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley, 1961), 103, sees a "riding ground" at Kynosarges, but Delorme, *Gym*., 28, correctly minimizes the significance of the incident.

[224] Diog. Laer. 6.13. It is uncertain whether "Cynicism" comes from "Kynosarges" or the nickname of Antisthenes and Diogenes; Delorme, *Gym*., 58; Harris, *GAA*, 150.

Whatever the relationship between Kynosarges and Cynicism, it never produced an enduring philosophical institution such as Plato's Academy or the Peripatetic School.[225] Moreover, criticisms of sophistry by the fourth-century comic poet Alexis, and comments by Pseudo-Plutarch on the education of *epheboi*, make reference to the Academy and Lyceum but not to Kynosarges.[226] Interestingly enough, a school of humor—"the Sixty"—met at Kynosarges in the fourth century and became so famous that Philip II of Macedon wished to buy its works.[227] Overall, however, this gymnasium seems much farther removed than the Academy or Lyceum from the philosophical and educational life of Athens.

To review, diverse and problematic bits of evidence suggest a general location for the sanctuary and a possible specific location for the gymnasium of Kynosarges. The Herakleion was ancient and venerable but its functional and chronological relationship to the athletic facility remains uncertain. Pisistratus and Themistocles may have been associated with an archaic gymnasium, but Smith's report is more enthusiastic than convincing. An architectural gymnasium in the classical age seems likely, but there is no proof of a founder or benefactor for Kynosarges. Demosthenes provides a firm *terminus ante quem* for a gymnasium here, but not until the mid-fourth century; and Wycherley correctly depicts Kynosarges as an establishment lacking the scale and complexity of the Academy or Lyceum.[228] With quite limited military, educational and philosophical functions, Kynosarges was the least civically involved of the major gymnasia. Kynosarges' unaristocratic nature—so suitable to Herakles, *nothoi* and Cynicism—was probably a natural development rather than the product of legislation. If Kynosarges was less frequented by noble youths, it may have been because it was simply a less adequate athletic facility. Classical Athens already had two major gymnasia and several private *palaestrae*, so it need not be remarkable that the third gymnasium was less monumental or less illustrious.

Stadium and Hippodrome

In ancient Greece *stadion* could mean a measure of distance (roughly 200 yards), the footrace over this distance, or the racecourse upon which the

[225] Apparently the Cynics did not develop into an organized school and their historical influence on Kynosarges may have been negligible. On the weakness of the historical connection between Antisthenes and Diogenes, a tradition probably due to later harmonizers trying to find a continuous succession of leaders for this school of philosophy, see D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London, 1937), 1-16 and F. Sayre, "Antisthenes the Socratic," *CJ* 43 (1948): 237-44.

[226] Alexis *apud* Ath. 8,336e-f (Edmonds *FAC* 1: frag. 25): Ps. Pl. *Axiochus* 366e-367a. Earlier Ps. Plato (*Axiochus* 364a) places Socrates en route to Kynosarges, but Plato never locates him there.

[227] Ath. 14.614d-e.

[228] Wycherley, *Stones*, 230.

race was run; but the use of the word for an artificially constructed racecourse with arrangements for spectators usually is seen as secondary.[229] As an establishment for competition, the stadium was the complement and not the equivalent of the gymnasium as an establishment for practice.[230] Like gymnasia, Greek stadia existed in naturally suitable areas centuries before an architectural form was determined.[231] Any long and reasonably level area could be made into a rudimentary stadium by marking out start and finish lines, while rising ground along the edge of the course would provide room for spectators.[232] For the *stadion* or *diaulos* races the start of the course and the finish or turning point need be marked only by a post or a line drawn in the sand. Olympia itself lacked a permanent stadium for over 200 years after the organization of the Games in 776. The earliest archaeological evidence for Greek stadia consists of sixth-century remains of artificial embankments in the sanctuaries of Olympia and Isthmia.[233] Even in classical times stadia remained rudimentary in form and architecturally unpretentious.[234]

The building of a permanent, monumental stadium at Athens was a late development, but the early existence of regular footraces presupposes some form of *stadion* upon which they were held. At least from ca. 566 civic games at Athens included footraces but the site of these races is uncertain. Travlos has suggested that the three inscriptions of ca. 566 mentioning a *dromos* refer to a racecourse in the Agora.[235] Certainly the Agora housed an occasional stadium in the second half of the fifth century, and it may have been the

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229 Wycherley, *HGBC*, 162. Cf. David G. Romano, "The Ancient Stadium: Athletics and Arete," *AncW* 7 (1983): 9-16, who suggests that the term *stadion* comes from the embankments provided for spectators rather than from the racecourse or *dromos* itself. Cf. further in his "The Stadia of the Peloponnesus," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1981), 218: "Facilities for spectators are a *sine qua non* for the ancient stadium. Without spectator facilities, the stadium is a *dromos*." Romano's argument depends on his definition of terms (244-49) in which *stadion* as "standing place" is based on Pausanias' late usage (especially 5.16.2). Contrary to standard dictionaries, Romano sees *stadion* as etymologically derived from ἵστημι.

230 Delorme, *Gym.*, 272.

231 On Greek stadia in general: Zschietzschmann, vol. 1; Jüthner-Brein, 2: 57-65; Gardiner, *GASF*, 251-69; Harris, *GAA*, 136-44; Wycherley, *HGBC*, 161-68. On the Athenian stadium: E. Ziller, "Ausgrabungen am panathenäischen Stadion", *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 20 (1870): 485-92; Travlos, *PDA*, 498; or more generally, A. Koster, *Das Stadion von Athen* (Berlin, 1906); C.H. Weller, "The Story of the Stadium at Athens," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America* 3 (1911/12): 172-77.

232 Harris, *GAA*, 136.

233 Zschietzschmann, 1: 14; E. Kunze, *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen* (Berlin, 1959), 267; "Das Stadion," *Olympia Bericht* III (Berlin, 1941), 5-12; O. Broneer, *Isthmia II, Topography and Architecture* (Princeton, 1973), 46-47.

234 Wycherley, *HGBC*, 161-62. Classical stadia often had artificial embankments but no stone construction except for starting lines and water channels. Paus. 2.27.6 describes the stadium at Epidauros as formed of a "bank of earth, like most Greek stadia."

235 Travlos, *PDA*, 2; see above, p. 26ff.

earlier and later site of competitions for which athletes had practiced on the *dromoi* of the gymnasia. Little can be said about the facilities for the gymnastic events of the early Panathenaic Games, but early informal arrangements would have left few discernible archaeological remains.[236]

Pseudo-Plutarch credits the building of the famous Panathenaic Stadium to Lycurgus:

καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπῖδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τοῦτό τε καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὁμαλὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου τινός, ὃς ἐκέκτητο τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει, προείπαντος αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι Λυκούργου.

And he put the foundation-walls round the Panathenaic stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine, because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lycurgus suggested to him that he make the gift.[237]

The verbs here (περιτίθημι, ἐξεργάζομαι, ποιέω) suggest that Lycurgus walled and created a new stadium on formerly private land. Yet in the honorary decree listing Lycurgus' acts appended to the *Life* by Pseudo-Plutarch ἐπιτελέω is used, suggesting that Lycurgus "completed" the stadium.[238] Perhaps Lycurgus, as with the Lyceum, renovated or embellished a pre-existent facility to give it monumental stature. At any rate, Lycurgus is the only pre-Hellenistic administrator mentioned in connection with the Panathenaic Stadium.

Construction of the Panathenaic Stadium was a public project administered by Lycurgus and accomplished partially at private expense. Pseudo-Plutarch records the donation of the land by Deinias on Lycurgus' suggestion, and further mentions foundations and the levelling of the gully. Additional details on the construction come from an inscribed decree of 329, moved by Lycurgus,[239] in honor of Eudemos of Plataea for various acts including the contribution, as he had promised, of 1000 teams for the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium and theatre before the Panathenaea (of 330):

καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ι[δέδ]ω[κεν] εἰς τὴν ποίησιν τοῦ σταδ[ί]ου καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ Παναθη[ναϊ]κοῦ χίλια ζεύγη καὶ ταῦτα πέπομφεν ἅπαντα π[ρὸ Π]αναθηναίων καθὰ ὑπέσ[χετο ....[240]

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[236] Gardiner, *GASF*, 263, using Xen. *Hipp.* 3, confuses 'stadium' and 'hippodrome' in suggesting that before the fourth century the Games were held in the deme of Echelidai.

[237] Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 841d, trans. H.N. Fowler. For a possible identification of Deinias, see Kirchner, *PA* 3163 and Davies, *APF*, 3163, stemma p. 96.

[238] Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 852c; cf. *IG* II^2 457.b7-8, *SIG* 326.19-20.

[239] F.W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens," 196, sees the role of Lycurgus—in convincing Deinias to donate the land and in proposing honors for Eudemos—as typical of his policy of financing programs without increasing taxation. He would persuade wealthy individuals to accept financial responsibilities for projects and they in turn received public recognition for their generosity.

[240] *IG* II^2 351, Tod II, no. 198. Tod accepts lines 15-20 as written, interpreting τοῦ θέατρου as referring to the seats or seating area of the stadium. *IG* II^2 1627.382-84 suggests that

The site itself was ideal: a shallow gully between two hills to the southeast of the city. Hence construction simply involved levelling, the raising of an embankment on the southern end, the marking off of a *dromos* for runners, and the provision of some simple place for spectators (a *theatron*).[241] Much later a lavish reconstruction of the stadium by Herodes Atticus impressed Pausanias with its white marble.[242]

H. A. Harris has raised the question of why the Greeks built both *dromoi* in gymnasia for practice as well as facilities for competition. Why did they not compete in the gymnasia or train in the stadia? His answer is shade: exposure to the sun was suitable for festivals and observance by spectators but shade was preferred for the longer training periods.[243] At Athens the question is: why did Lycurgus raise a monumental stadium when the city already had three gymnasia and had managed quite well earlier with non-monumental stadia?

As with the Lycurgan Lyceum, the building of a monumental stadium anticipates Hellenistic trends rather than being typical of classical Athenian athletic facilities. In late classical and early Hellenistic Greece some stadia were reconstructed on a grander scale and they were shifted to new locations more distant from their sanctuaries. This trend may imply a new relationship between stadia and sanctuaries or a new social attitude to spectatorship.[244] At Athens perhaps the Agora was becoming too crowded while the gymnasia increasingly were occupied with military and educational functions. The new stadium would provide better facilities for spectators but perhaps at the cost of removing their involvement from the heart of the city.[245] Probably Lycurgus simply wanted to emulate Pericles' glorification of Athens; but, with reference to athletic facilities, the results were more representative of Hellenistic than classical conditions.

Of the athletic facilities of Athens the most elusive is the hippodrome. A Greek *hippodromos* was simply an elongated *dromos* for horses, and any city

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Lycurgus further economized in the construction by transferring beams from the naval arsenal to the board in charge of the stadium; F. W. Mitchel, "Lykourgan Athens," 197, n. 132.

[241] See Gardiner, *GASF*, 263; Travlos, *PDA*, 498, fig. 379 no. 198. David G. Romano, "The Panathenaic Stadium and the Theater of Lykourgos," *AJArch.* 87 (1983): 255 (summary of a paper to AIA 1982), disagrees with the conventional location and suggests instead a terrace (levelled in the third building period) on the Pnyx.

[242] Paus. 1.19.6; Philostr. *VS* 2.1.5; Judeich, *Topog.*, 417-19. It was mostly the remains of the later Roman stadium that excavators found in 1869-70; see Ziller, "Stadion".

[243] Harris, *GAA* 144.

[244] For example, in the second half of the fourth century new stadia with expanded seating capacities were built at Isthmia and Nemea, and topographical shifts or reorientations took place at Olympia and Corinth; S. G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of Gardiner's *AAW*, 1978, pp. viii-ix; Romano, "Stadia of the Peloponnesos," 242-44.

[245] Wycherley, *Stones*, 215 no. 20, notes that the stadium was used occasionally by the Boule and possibly the Ekklesia.

might be expected to have one or more such sites.[246] Naturally suitable areas would have been used for early hippodromes (and stadia), and no physical remains of an Athenian hippodrome have been found. Since a hippodrome needed no architectural expression and could be located even on agricultural land, it seems unlikely that any remains of an Athenian hippodrome will be discovered.[247] Only a few scraps of literary and inscriptional evidence exist.[248]

We have seen that the Panathenaic Way operated occasionally as an equestrian racecourse for certain Panathenaic events, and that gymnasia also were used for cavalry reviews and horseriding.[249] An actual hippodrome is first mentioned by Xenophon as a site for cavalry reviews; and he also refers to the *anthippasia* and suggests that the people should be driven out of the hippodrome, implying that there were no barriers and that the facility was open and simple.[250]

Apparently the Athenian hippodrome was eight stades long and located in Echelidai, near the city.[251] There has been a problem with the location of the hippodrome and Echelidai since Judeich located both in the northwestern section of the Peiraeus.[252] W.S. Ferguson relocated the hippodrome in New Phaleron, where the modern racetrack is, and this location is generally accepted.[253] Echelidai, as a place within the deme Xypete rather than a constitutional deme itself, has been located with certainty by J.S. Traill to the northeast of the Peiraeus.[254]

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[246] On the Greek hippodrome, see Harris, *SGR*, 161-72; Gardiner, *GASF*, 451-66. On the Athenian hippodrome, see Judeich, *Topog.*, 456; Travlos, *PDA*, 3; S. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," *ABSA* 67 (1972): 13-19.

[247] *IG* II² 1638.16 records fourth-century leases of farms on Delos, and the "hippodrome" appears as one of the farms, leading Harris, *SGR*, 162-63, to conclude that hippodromes ordinarily were just agricultural land. Almost all the evidence for Greek hippodromes is literary. The only hippodrome of which significant remains exist is on Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia; Gardiner, *GASF*, 451-52. No certain remains are left at Olympia; there is only the description in Paus. 6.20.10.

[248] Interestingly enough, the starting gate in the hippodrome at Olympia was invented by Kleoitas, probably a fifth-century Athenian sculptor. See Paus. 6.20.10 and H. A. Harris, "The Starting Gate for Chariots at Olympia," *G&R* 15 (1968): 113-26. No firm conclusions can be made from two depictions in Attic vase-paintings of facilities for spectators in contexts of chariot races (*ABV* 39.16 (Sophilos fragment of ca. 580-70) and *ABV* 95.8 (of the first half of the sixth century)), but Romano, "Stadia of the Peloponnesos," 223-26, suggests that possibly artificial embankments were used as facilities for spectators for equestrian events in a sixth-century Attic hippodrome.

[249] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.1; Andoc. 1.61; hence Eur. *Hipp.* 229 can speak of gymnasia resounding with the sound of horses: καὶ γυμνασίων τῶν ἱπποκρότων.

[250] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.10, ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους.

[251] *Etym. Magn.* s.v. ἐν Ἐχελιδῶν: τόπος Ἀθήνῃσι σταδίων ὀκτώ. ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἱπποδρομίαι; Ps. Dem. 47 speaks of a man farming near the hippodrome; M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 237.

[252] Judeich, *Topog.*, 456.

[253] W.S. Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesp.* 7 (1938): 25-26; Ferguson uses an inscription of 363/2 (his Inscrip. no. 1 line 92) mentioning Poseidon Hippodromios (taken as a descriptive epithet rather than a cult-title) to associate a temple to Poseidon, near the hippodrome, with shrines located in New Phaleron.

[254] John S. Traill, "The Political Organization of Attica," *Hesp.* Suppl. 14 (1975): 87, 114 no. 10, regards Echelidai as an Attic place name (a deme in the pre-Kleisthenic sense of

Xenophon caused confusion by referring to cavalry reviews—τά τε ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ.[255] He soon goes on to discuss the hippodrome but does not mention Phaleron again. This had drawn suspicion to the text[256] and caused S. Benton to see Phaleron and the hippodrome as separate locations. However, her argument for a hippodrome below and to the east of Kolonos Hippios is not compelling.[257] Furthermore, the discovery some 600 metres north of New Phaleron of a votive relief inscribed with the name Echelos seems to confirm the general location of Echelidai and the hippodrome.[258]

Little can be said with certainty about the Athenian hippodrome as an athletic facility. Its early history is uncertain, and perhaps the Agora and gymnasia sufficed. The location of an independent hippodrome is unrecorded until the fourth-century reference by Xenophon. Although the hippodrome left no monumental remains, its fourth-century location in New Phaleron is quite definite. Like other Athenian facilities, the hippodrome seems to have developed from simple origins into a more advanced stage as an independent site in the classical era.

Conclusion

Since Athens was a *polis* the history of its athletic facilities is interrelated with the development of the city and civic life.[259] Even as the *polis* itself developed from earlier roots, Athens' athletic facilities began with a rudimen-

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a locality or township) rather than a constitutional deme; cf. Steph. Byz. (ed. Meineke) s.v. Ἐχελίδαι.

[255] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.1.

[256] For example, E.C. Marchant (OCT) would excise καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ. Ferguson, "Salaminioi," 26 n. 2, suggests that Xenophon's text may stand if τὰ Φαληροῖ is simply preliminary to τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ.

[257] S. Benton's discussion, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 13-19, posits a fifth-century Panathenaic hippodrome near Kolonos Hippios based on a reference in Pausanias (1.30.4) to a shared altar of Athena Hippia and Poseidon Hippios. She jumps from a reference to Athena Hippia in Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 1070) to an interpretation of lines 1065-70 as a description of the youth of Kolonos performing the Panathenaic *anthippasia* in a hippodrome in honor of Athena and Poseidon. There may be some confusion with the equestrian use of the Academy near Kolonos, but such use has been noted before. It is quite possible that rudimentary or even private hippodromes existed near Kolonos and elsewhere near Athens, but "the hippodrome" lay in New Phaleron.

[258] *IG* II^2 4546 (Nat. Mus. 1783) of roughly 400 is usually taken as a depiction of the hero Echelos carrying off the nymph Basile in a four-horse chariot led by Hermes; M. Andronikos, *National Museum* (Athens, 1978), 36, fig. 66. Cf. Benton, "Echelos' Hippodrome," 13-19, for an ingenious but unconvincing interpretation of the relief.

[259] Gardiner, *GASF*, 482-83, makes an important point about Greek athletic facilities. Olympia and Delphi, with small and scattered populations, built "strictly practical and athletic gymnasia," primarily for the use of festival competitors. Athens' gymnasia, however, were intended for the regular use of a large, resident population, and could not avoid involvement in the broader life of the city.

tary phase when natural settings and informal arrangements sufficed. Delorme's thorough work unfortunately is of limited assistance to this study because of his architectural approach to the Greek gymnasium as an institution for physical education.[260] Early athletic *agones* presuppose some form of rudimentary athletic facilities before the rise of "*la gymnastique*" could promote architectural gymnasia.

By the early seventh century, Athens had produced Olympic victors who presumably trained somewhere at Athens. Funeral games and hero cults may have given the Agora an athletic role, and rudimentary, possibly private, facilities probably existed around Athens. The development of athletic festivals coincided with and certainly influenced the development of gymnasia.[261] Probably the rule of the tyrants in the sixth century helped develop gymnasia further as public facilities located in sanctuaries as topographically suitable sites. *Palaestra*-scenes become common in vase-paintings around the mid-sixth century but the "gymnasia" of archaic Athens were probably no more than *palaestrae*, marked out by walls or a *peribolos* of some sort, and *dromoi*, defined by start and finish lines.[262] The Persian Wars, perhaps destroying what little evidence there may have been for athletic facilities, led to the empire that gave Athens the power and wealth to build on a grander scale.

Even for the fifth century regrettably little is known about Athens' athletic facilities. The athletic role of the Agora became evident only through scattered clues and recent archaeology. Prior to the time of Lycurgus, the stadia of Athens remain elusive, and the hippodrome even more so. Athens' gymnasia and *palaestrae*, although they are more frequently mentioned in literature, remain only

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[260] For an elaborate, generalized treatment of the elements and activities of the Greek gymnasium, see Delorme, *Gym.*, 272-315. Information about Greek gymnasia before the fourth century is largely confined to Athens; and even for fifth-century Athens the most widely used evidence is that from vase-paintings, which show the techniques of events but say very little about the nature and history of gymnasia. The only example of a gymnasium inventory from Attic epigraphy dates from the second half of the second century and possibly refers to the Ptolemaion; see Diskin Clay, "A Gymnasium Inventory from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 46 (1977): 259-67. This mentions an *exedra* (lines 45, 50, and possibly 36), a *balbis* (line 37) and statues of several divinities appropriate for the expanded educational functions of a Hellenistic gymnasium; cf. Jean Audiat, *Délos XXVIII, Le gymnase* (Paris, 1970), 95-98, concerning a second-century Delian gymnasium inventory (*Inscr. Délos*, no. 1417).

[261] Humphreys, "Nothoi," 90-91, asociates the origin of the gymnasium with the number and popularity of athletic competitions in the sixth century. The Athenian case supports her criticism of Delorme's theory of an association between gymnasia and hoplite warfare. She suggests that the Academy was founded by Pisistratus, who would not encourage the practice of arms among his subjects. Gymnasia, as sites planted with trees for shade, seem unsuitable for hoplite manœuvres; and sources tend to present gymnasia as places for mustering and arming rather than practice.

[262] *Palaestra*-scenes become common in vase-paintings around 530; Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 196. Red-figure vase-paintings of ca. 520-440 show athletic scenes with trees, pillars and bathing arrangements suggesting the modest nature of Athenian gymnasia.

partially known—especially Kynosarges.[263] Although early sites probably were embellished by the Pisistratids, not until the fifth century can one speak with certainty of architectural rather than rudimentary or pre-architectural gymnasia at Athens. In the fifth century the Academy and Agora developed as public facilities, and the Lyceum benefitted from the Periclean building program. Apparently athletes trained in the now more elaborate, but still modest, suburban gymnasia, and periodically they competed inside the city as part of Athens' celebrations of her own glory.[264]

With the most shrines and connected to an ancient hero cult, the Academy was the oldest and most august Athenian gymnasium; it was also the most prestigious, as immortalized in Aristophanes' encomium. The Lyceum, as depicted by Lynch, was a facility intimately connected with city life and not an isolated suburban retreat. Pericles is as appropriate a benefactor for this open, active gymnasium as Kimon is for the more distant and traditional Academy. Like Herakles in relation to Athena and Apollo, Kynosarges was the latest and least developed of the Athenian gymnasia. Less renowned and less militarily oriented, Kynosarges lacked a benefactor (unless Themistocles was one). Although probably less elaborate, Kynosarges was certainly more than just a precinct for undesirable *nothoi*. In addition, private *palaestrae* and independent baths flourished in Athens as the city's facilities became more specialized and differentiated.[265]

After 403 there were few public building projects until the age of Lycurgus,[266] but the facilities that did exist were acquiring additional functions. Combining old ends and new means, Lycurgus engineered a major building program, which entailed the shifting of gymnastic contests from the Agora to a new monumental Panathenaic Stadium. The Lycurgan embellishment of the Lyceum, perhaps with an eye to the growing needs of the Peripatetics and *ephebeia*, represents a trend toward the Hellenistic form and function of gymnasia. At Athens and elsewhere in Greece athletic facilities were becoming more monumental in the last quarter of the fourth century, but this stage of development is more typically Hellenistic than classical. Overall, the history

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[263] Wycherley, *Stones*, 5, comments: "... the principal deficiency in our picture of the city is due to lack of precise knowledge of any of the three great suburban gymnasia which played such an important part in Athenian life."

[264] With an apparent Athenian inspiration, Plato's ideal state was to have several public gymnasia (*Leg*. 804c) (containing baths), established in convenient sacred groves (ἄλσος ἢ τέμενος, *Leg*. 761c). The areas were to be embellished with trees, buildings and an elaborate water system.

[265] Pausanias refers to a "Gymnasium of Hermes," apparently between the Dipylon and the entrance to the Agora: Paus. 1.2.4-5; *Agora III*, 20-21, no. 2. If such a gymnasium existed, it probably was a minor and post-classical structure, for it was within the city walls, no remains have been found, and no other ancient source refers to it.

[266] Boersma, *ABP*, ix.

of Athenian facilities in the classical era tends to be one of growth and development rather than decline and abuse.

C.A. Forbes notes that throughout their history gymnasia took on additional, less athletic functions, but their athletic nature (as places for sports and exercise) was original and dominant in pre-Hellenistic Athens. What he terms "non-gymnastic and miscellaneous" uses—to which Athenian athletic facilities were put increasingly from the late fifth century on—include: parade grounds for cavalry; military musters and reviews; feasts and exhibitions; the display of public notices; sophistry and literary endeavors; ephebic education and philosophical schools.[267] Primarily, however, gymnasia in classical Athens continued to function as athletic facilities for the public use of the Athenian citizens. Cicero, critical of the popularity of sport over philosophy in a later age, gives his appropriate opinion on the origins and functions of the Greek gymnasium: the Greeks devised *palaestrae*, benches and the stoa for exercise and enjoyment, not for discussion. Gymnasia, Cicero continues, existed for many centuries before philosophers began to chatter in them; and even in his day, though philosophers frequent all gymnasia, their audience prefers to listen to the discus rather than the philosopher.[268]

The athletic facilities of Athens grew and diversified in response to many possible factors: the popularity of athletics, the increasing population and wealth of the city, military developments, and the architectural and topographical stages of the city. Despite the grumblings of the Old Oligarch, Aristophanes suggests that there was no great popular demand for, nor utilization of, the expanding facilities. Rather the spread of such facilities, in part, corresponds to the rising wealth and standard of living at Athens. It is important, however, to note that significant physical developments and architectural elaborations were promoted by astute politicians conscious of what was flattering and beneficial for Athens and for themselves.[269]

As well as fostering civic pride and festivals which stimulated the development of athletics, the Pisistratids probably were involved with the Academy and possibly with the Lyceum. Themistocles may have had some influence on Kynosarges; but sources are better concerning his wealthier rival, Kimon, who was the private benefactor of the Academy and Agora. In turn, Kimon's

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[267] C.A. Forbes, "Expanded Uses of the Greek Gymnasium," *CPhil.* 40 (1945): 32-42.

[268] Cic. *Or.* 2.5.21.

[269] Although Boersma, *ABP*, 100-02, recognizes competition as a motive behind public works of the tyrants, he describes fifth-century building activity concerning baths, *palaestrae* and the Lyceum as secular and utilitarian (80-81). Such projects were not all simply part of the routine building activity of the city.

rival Pericles directed civic initiative and public funds toward the Lyceum.[270] Although the ambitious Alcibiades referred to Kynosarges in the Athenian assembly, this later and lesser gymnasium apparently lacked a major benefactor.[271] Perhaps the aristocratic air of equestrian events made the hippodrome unsuitable for politically minded benefactors. Lycurgus, perhaps more altruistic than his precursor Pericles, used privately subsidized, public programs to enhance the Lyceum and Stadium in an effort to revive the vitality and greatness of Athens. Although the state itself was to weaken, Athens' athletic facilities long remained famous.

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[270] In discussing the financial resources of Athens in 431, Pericles (Thuc. 2.13.3-5) told the Assembly that some 3700 talents had been spent on the Propylaia, the other public buildings and the Potidaea campaign. It is possible that "the other public buildings" included the Lyceum.

[271] Ath. 6.234e (Polemon, frag. 78, Preller); possibly *IG* I^2 129.

CHAPTER FOUR

ATHENIAN ATHLETES

The following discussion of the social background of Athenian athletes presents the results of a search for all known Athenian athletes, both gymnastic and equestrian. No other prosopographical examination of Athenian athletes exists, but Moretti's *Olympionikai* and Pleket's examination of Olympic victors provide models and show the value of such studies. As the Greek city-state with the greatest wealth of historical sources, and as a city whose genealogical history has received study, Athens is very suitable for a prosopographical case study of athletes. Supplementing Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*, Davies' *Athenian Propertied Families* provides invaluable services for this study. He has collected all known members of the Athenian "upper class" as indicated by objective economic criteria of wealth;[1] and he elucidates the history of the Athenian "aristocracy" of birth,[2] whose interconnections are illustrated extensively in his genealogical chart, Table I. Unfortunately and admittedly, the identities of the majority of Athenian athletes will never be known, but insights can be gained from those for whom evidence has survived.

Sources for such a study are varied and difficult, ranging from inscribed works of art to oratorical assertions. Of course, one must realize that the evidence is often limited, lacunary, or weighted to the upper classes.[3] Victor

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[1] Davies, *APF*, xx-xxvii, explains that his major criterion for membership in the "upper class" is the performance of military or festival liturgies, requiring roughly a minimum level of wealth of four talents. For the period prior to the liturgical system established by the 480s, Davies also accepts hippotrophy and literary references to wealth or property as indicators of upper-class status. While accepting Davies' correlation of the upper class with *leitourgountes*, this study also notes familial wealth indicated by expensive dedications, monuments and higher education. Also see Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (New York, 1981).

[2] M.T.W. Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Archaic Greece* (London, 1977), 9-12, 182-83, uses "aristocracy" interchangeably with "noble," with reference to people's descent and lineage, to describe closed, hereditary groups.

[3] H.I. Immerwahr, "A Lekythos in Toronto and the Golden Youth of Athens," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 59-65 and "A Projected Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions," *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967* (Oxford, 1971), 53-60, has strongly defended the value for Attic prosopography of *kalos*-names and names ascribed to figures in vase-paintings (or combinations of both called "portrait-*kalos*" by Immerwahr or "tag-*kalos*" by Beazley). E.D. Francis and Michael Vickers, "Leagros Kalos," *PCPS* 207 (1981): 97-136, also give an important review of the chronological usefulness of *kalos*-inscriptions. The frequency of *kalos*- and other names associated with athletic scenes on fine pottery (as on ostraca) is significant and correlates well with the aristocratic nature of athletics in early Athens. These names generally are to be associated with the same social class but most of the names, which seldom have patronymics, are either otherwise unattested or only conjecturally identified.

lists and public records are more reliable and objective than private dedications or commissioned works like those of Pindar. The Athenian tradition of homonymity within families, and the questionable reliability of late sources and attributions of athletic activity, create further difficulties. Arguments *ex silentio* are to be avoided: absence of information on an individual beyond his athletic record should not be misinterpreted.[4]

Relevant information on Athenian athletes is presented in Appendix B in two catalogues using a format that includes: name, patronymic, demotic or ethnic, date, event and festival competed in, supporting testimonia, appropriate bibliographical references or directions, and finally any explanatory or additional comments on the life, status or connections of the individual.[5] Catalogue I includes individuals designated as "A". These are known athletic victors, or evidence shows that they probably were athletically active. Catalogue II presents possible Athenian athletes ("P"), persons for whom athletic activity is suggested on the basis of less reliable or conclusive evidence. Information on these athletes is often fragmentary or uncertain, and is so presented. Athenian victors in any Athenian or Panhellenic festival are considered; and, excluding problematic torch racers,[6] "athletic" or "equestrian" events are taken to be those so accepted in the earlier discussions.

On the basis of these catalogues, the names have been arranged in chronological order in five charts for analysis. Each chart documents a significant period suggested both by the political history and by what is known of the athletic history of Athens. Period One (776-594) spans the pre-

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Admittedly most of the names refer to actual persons but the identification of names with the person and/or activity (more often exercise than victory) depicted is still very debatable. As K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 121, comments: "... there is no single and simple explanation of the *kalos*-inscriptions which will account for all the data." Likewise, Francis and Vickers, 120: "It is not a convention in the use of *kalos*-inscriptions that the name necessarily refers to a figure depicted on the vase." Although the integration of such names would contribute to the argument for élitist athletics made herein, due to the problematic nature of the evidence, names from vase inscriptions are not accepted as athletes in this study solely on that basis; such persons are not included unless there is independent corroborating evidence, as in the case of Leagros (see P100).

[4] Cf. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 46-49, who argues that individuals who are known only as athletes are therefore non-noble.

[5] Since Davies' *APF* uses numbers for individuals identical to those of Kirchner in *PA*, *PA* is not cited unless the individual in question is not listed in *APF*.

[6] The torch race was perhaps more ritualistic than athletic, and the members of tribal torch-racing teams would not be representative of the social origins of full-time athletic competitors. *IG* II² 1250.11-20, of later than the mid-fourth century, lists ten *lampadephoroi* of the tribe Aiantis; but these persons are otherwise unknown, and we do not know the festival involved. *IG* II² 3105, a dedication from Rhamnous, lists 42 *lampadephoroi*, all of Erechtheis; the find spot may indicate the Nemeseia festival, but a torch race may be inappropriate for that festival. J. Pouilloux in a republication of the inscription, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte* (Paris, 1954), 111, no. 2 bis, dates it to 333/2, but cf. Davies (*JHS* 87 (1967): 40, n. 84) suggesting ca. 345 and Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions*, no. 13 suggesting 329/8 or 324/3.

Solonian era from the first Olympic Games to the archonship of Solon. Period Two (594-490) covers archaic Athens down to the Persian invasion. Period Three (490-404) includes the Pentacontaetia and the Peloponnesian War. Period Four (404-355) represents the age of recovery before the misfortunes of the Social War. Finally, Period Five (355-322), short but significant, deals with Athens in the shadow of Macedon.

Chronological Chart of Athenian Athletes
and Possible Athletes

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
Period One (776-594)		
A53; Pantakles; 696, 692 stadion, diaulos; Ol.	(inapplicable before 600)	
A27; Eurybates; 672 stadion; Ol.		
A60; Stomas; 644 stadion; Ol.		
A40; Kylon; 640 diaulos; Ol.		
A68; Phrynon; 636 pankration; Ol.		
Period Two (594-490)		
A5; Alkmeon I; 592 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A22; Epainetos; ca. 580-570 jump; Eleusinia (?)		
P101; Megakles II; ca. 570s athlete (?)	X	X
P97; Hippokleides I; ca. 570s athlete (?)	X	X
A30; Kallias I; 564 chariot, horserace; Ol., Pyth.	X	X
A46; Miltiades III; 560 (?) chariot; Ol.	X	X
P93; Thrasyboulos; ca. 550 horserace (?)	X	
A38; [Krati]os; ca. 550. pentathlon; Panath. (?)	X	
A6; Alkmeonides I; ca. 546 chariot; Panath. (?)	X	X
P95; Hipparchos; ca. 540 horserace; Pyth. (?)	X	X
P96; Hippias; ca. 540 horserace; Pyth. (?)	X	X

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
A34; Kimon I; 536, 532, 528 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A55; Pisistratus; 532 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A21; Dyneiketos; 525-500 horserace		
A3; Alcibiades I; ca. 525-500 chariot; Pyth.	X	X
P103; Menander; ca. 510 pankration(?)		
A45; Melesias I; ca. 500 pankration; Nem.	X	X
A31; Kallias II; 500, 496, 492 chariot; Ol.	X	X
P84; Antiphon I; ca. 500 horserace (?)	X	X
P100; Leagros I; ca. 500 pentathlon; Panath. (?)	X	X
P108; S]ost[ratos; ca. 500 chariot		
Period Three (490-404)		
P43; Megakles IV; 486 chariot; Pyth.	X	X
A25; Hermolykos; ca. 480s pankration		
P109; Sophocles; ca. 480 athlete (?)		
P91; Themistocles; ca. 475 horserace (?)	X	
A24; Epicharinos; ca. 475 hoplitodromos; Plataea (?)		
A29; Kallias; 472 pankration; Periodos, Panath.		
P87; Euripides; ca. 470 pankration, boxing; Theseia, Eleusinia		
A41; Lyk]ophron; 468 boys' stadion; Ol.		
A76; [...]los; 468 hoplitodromos; Ol.		
P92; Thucydides; ca. 460 wrestler	X	X
A64; Timodemos; ca. 460 (?) pankration; Nem., Ol.		
A67; Phrynichos; 456 boys' wrestling; Ol.		
P113; Timotheos; pre-450 athlete (?)	X	
P99; Kleophantos; ca. 450s horserace	X	

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
A1; Aglaos; ca. 450 stadion; Isth., Nem.		
A42; Lysis I; ca. 450 chariot, horserace; Pyth., Isth., Nem.	X	
A58; Pythodelos; ca. 450 heavy athlete; Pyth., Nem.		
P102; Melesias II; ca. 450 wrestler	X	X
P110; Stephanos; ca. 450 wrestler	X	X
A51; Xanthias; ca. 450 wrestler		
A26; Eudoros; ca. 450 wrestler		
P105; Xanthippos II; ca. 430s horseman	X	X
P106; Paralos; ca. 430s horseman	X	X
A44; Megakles V; 436 chariot; Ol.	X	X
A17; Diophanes I; ca. 430 youths' pankration; Isth.		
P88; Eupheros; pre ca. 428-426 athlete (?)		
P79; Hagnias; ca. 425 pentathlon		
A57; Pronapes; ca. 425 chariot; Isth., Nem., Panath.	X	
P104; Miltiades VI; ca. 425 athlete (?)	X	X
A15; Demokrates I; ca. 425 chariot, horserace; Pyth., Isth., Nem.	X	
A74; [-]s; ca. 425 athlete (?): Isth., Nem.	X	
A78; [ ]; ca. 425 horserace; Isth., Nem.	X	
A12; Autolykos; 421 youths' pankration; Panath.		
P98; Isocrates; ca. 420 horserace	X	
A11; Atrometos; ca. 420-410 gymnastic athlete (?)	X	
A4; Alcibiades III; 416 chariot, horserace; Ol., Nem., Pyth., Panath. (?)	X	X
A63; Teisias; 416 chariot; Ol.	X	
P107; Plato; ca. 410 wrestler; Isth., Pyth. (?)	X	X
P112; Timesitheos; ca. 410 runner	X	
P85; Antiphon II; ca. 405 horserace (?)	X	X

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
Period Four (404-355)		
A47; Minos; 400 stadion; Ol.		
A23; Epichares; 396 (?) boys' stadion; Ol.	X	
P89; Hegestratos; ca. 395 athlete (?); Nem.		
P90; Theaitetos; ca. 395 athlete (?)		
P111; Socrates the Younger; ca. 395 athlete (?)		
A77; [-]; 394 boys' stadion; Ol.		
A37; Krates; ca. 390s apobates; Panath.		
A62; Sosippos; 388 stadion; Ol.		
P80; Aeschines; ca. 380 heavy athlete	X	
P114; Philippos; ca. 375 athlete (?)	X	
P115; Philochares; ca. 375 athlete	X	
A39; K]ydeides; ca. 375 wrestler; Eleusinia		
A71; Chabrias; 374 chariot; Pyth.	X	
A18; Diophanes II; ca. 370-360 youths' pankration		
A59; Pythostratos; 368 stadion; Ol.		
A69; Phokides; 364 stadion; Ol.		
A66; Philammon; 360 boxing; Ol.		
Period Five (355-322)		
A65; Timokrates II; 352 synoris; Ol.	X	
A73; [......]los; pre-350 synoris; Panath., Eleusinia	X	
A52; Xenokles; ca. 350 boys' wrestling; Panath.		
P116; [-]; ca. 350 athlete (?); Pyth., Isth., Nem., Panath.		
P86; Ari[st-]; ca. 350 athlete (?); Isth.		
A2; Akarnan; ca. 350 youths' stadion; Amph.		

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
A7; Antibios; ca. 350 boys' stadion; Amph.		
A9; Antiphanes; ca. 350 boys' pankration; Amph.		
A16; Demo[sthen]e[s; ca. 350 war team; Amph.		
A19; [Diocha]rẹs; ca. 350 colt team; Amph.		
A33; Ki[k]on; ca. 350 processional team; Amph.	?	
A35; [Klea]ndro[s; ca. 350 straight synoris; Amph.		
A36; K]learchos; ca. 350 processional team; Amph.		
A48; Mnesarchides; ca. 350 boys' dolichos and hippios; Amph.		
A49; Mn[e]s[ipp]o[s; ca. 350 team diaulos; Amph.		
A50; Nikodemos; ca. 350 boys' boxing; Amph.		
A54; Pausias; ca. 350 boys' boxing; Amph.		
A56; Prokleid[e]s; ca. 350 synoris diaulos; Amph.		
A61; Stratokles; ca. 350 boys' pentathlon; Amph.	?	
A72; Charisandros; ca. 350 boys' wrestling; Amph.		
A75; [...]as; ca. 350 boys' pankration; Amph.		
P83; Antidorides II; ca. 340s stadion		
A10; Aristolochos; 344 stadion; Ol.		
A8; Antikles; 340 stadion; Ol.		
A20; Dioxippos; 336 pankration; Ol.		
A28; Euphraios; ca. 330s pankration		
A32; Kallippos; 332 pentathlon; Ol.		
A13; Demades I; 328 horserace; Ol.	X	
P82; Antigenes; ca. 325 runner (?)		
P81; Ant[-]; ca. 325 runner (?)		
P94; Idomeneus; ca. 325 runner (?)		

Format: Catalogue Reference; Name; Date Event; Festival	in *APF*?	in Table I?
A70; Phokos; ca. 320s apobates; Panath.	X	
A14; Demetrios; ca. 320 chariot; Panath.	X	

To the extent to which answers are possible, this socio-economic examination of Athenian athletes addresses itself to several questions. We know that the social and political predominance of the Athenian aristocracy decreased in the late fifth century.[7] How did their role in athletics change: were they "never absent" or were they "forced out"?[8] Athens came to possess a radical democracy along with public athletic facilities and festivals. Are there indications of popularization or social mobility—or of social stratification—among athletes?[9] As awards and training became more prevalent, did financially dependent "professional" athletes appear?[10] What do the family histories

[7] P.L. MacKendrick, *The Athenian Aristocracy 399 to 31 B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 3-5, notes that between 429 and 399 the Athenian aristocracy, weakened by plague and elbowed aside by the *nouveau riche* ruling class, largely withdrew from politics. He describes the fourth-century propertied class as a *haute bourgeoisie* lacking the sense of tradition of the old aristocracy. V. Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1943; reprint ed., London, 1974), 95-112, discusses the decreasing prestige and involvement of the aristocrats in the late fifth century as other classes acquired wealth appropriate to upper-class status.

[8] Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 25-74, argues that the rise of a commercial class and the growth of democracy—both undermining aristocratic privilege—led to a social inversion in sport with aristocrats being forced out by lower-class professionals. Cf. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 57-87, who asserts the persistence of the upper classes in athletics from ca. 600 to A.D. 200. In "Athletes and Ideology," 73, he claims that even after 400 "... there is no question of lower class athletes monopolizing the athletic scene and of upper class athletes withdrawing from athletics and restricting themselves to the equestrian games." For a criticism of Pleket's views, charging that he "almost" told the truth but that he accepts an unproven assumption that all archaic athletes were nobles, that he accepts Gardiner's chronology (post Pindar) for the advent of full professionalism at the major games, and that his model Greek athlete is an idealized nineteenth-century aristocrat (an amateur who makes but does not need money), see Young, *Olympic Myth*, 89-103.

[9] Gardiner, *AAW*, 42, feels that the rise of public gymnasia and athletic prizes "... made it possible for even the poorest to compete. Athletics were in sympathy with the growing spirit of democracy. ... At the close of the sixth century the Greeks were literally a nation of athletes." Again Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72-73, challenges the conventional picture, pointing to training requirements, travel costs and lost income as obstacles to the poor. He feels that non-noble participation in Panhellenic athletics was unlikely before the rise of the gymnasium (which he dates post 650), and also that it was unlikely that the rise of the gymnasium was followed immediately by non-noble participation. He suggests that it was probably in the local contests that the "hoplite middle class" got its first chance to compete.

[10] Harris, *SGR*, 39, feels that the emergence of a class of "high paid professional performers" drove the true amateurs out of competition. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 76-77, claims that, from the time of the Peloponnesian War onward, athletes were nearly all professionals recruited increasingly from the rural and least civilized districts.

and extra-athletic careers of individuals suggest? What groups were involved with hippotrophy, and did its popularity or the background of its practioners change over time?[11] Are there quantitative or social indications that Athens was becoming an unathletic nation of spectators? Were proportionally fewer Athenians competing and more watching as time passed?[12]

Answers are limited by the data available, but within each of the five periods the known individuals can be examined and discussed in terms of certain issues. Were they *aristoi* (by birth) of gentilician families, notably those outlined in Davies' Table I? Do many of these persons appear in Davies' registry of the the Athenian upper class (of wealth)? Was there anything significant about the number of individuals or the festivals competed in during the periods? Was there any significance to the events popular in a period, or the events chosen by particular individuals? Comments will be made on the socio-economic status of athletes, their prosopographical ties and their careers. Concluding remarks will suggest trends or developments in the social background and status of the men examined over the whole pre-Hellenistic period of Athenian history.

Period One (776-594)

Historical sources for this era are very limited, the Olympic Games were still quite local, and the Periodos and Panathenaic Games had not yet been organized, so it is not surprising that only five Athenian athletes are known from these two centuries. Pantakles, Eurybates and Stomas are known only for their victories as runners. Kylon became infamous for his attempted tyranny, which—by the anecdote about the oracle at least—may have been related to his athletic success. His tie to Theagenes proves his high status and demonstrates the international, aristocratic aspects of the archaic athletic world. Phrynon's career spans athletics and public life since the pancratiast became a general and *oikistes* later in his life, thus showing that he was of high social status.

Suggestions are restricted by the lack of evidence here. For instance, no patronymic can be given for any of these men, and yet it is safe to assume

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[11] Gardiner, *GASF*, 132 and Marrou, *Education*, 66-67, suggest that as athletics were passing into the hands of the professionals the richer classes devoted themselves to hippotrophy more and more.

[12] Steven G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of *AAW*, viii-ix, suggests that athletics in the classical era were less of a spectator sport than later. He argues that the development of elaborate seating arrangements in the Hellenistic age reveals "... the evolution of the relationship of athletics and society away from one of relatively full participation to one of specialization and professionalism." Although Lycurgus did build the Panathenaic Stadium during Period Five, elaborate seating arrangements were a Hellenistic development and may reflect the evolution of an architectural form as well as tendencies in social practice.

that all five could afford the expense of travelling to Olympia. One can note that all but one of the victories were in running and that none was in an equestrian event.[13] Only victors, not "possible athletes," are remembered from this age when athletics had not yet attained their full popularity.

Period Two (594-490)

In the sixth century the Panathenaic Games were organized, rudimentary athletic facilities improved, and art and vase-paintings bore witness to the increasing popularity of athletics at Athens. In this aristocratic age rival clans were influential and competitive even during the Pisistratid tyranny. Greater numbers of victors are known because of the increase in historical sources, especially dedications. "Possible athletes" now appear as well, largely by association with families of known victors.

Victories by Athenians in this era reveal a preoccupation with hippotrophy. This aristocratic pastime of breeding and racing horses required land and wealth but rewarded the victor with fame and contacts in high circles. Some nobles, such as Leagros and Hippokleides, seem to have practised for gymnastic events in their youth, but no victories in running are recorded.[14] To these aristocrats equestrian and also gymnastic victories were important matters of status and honor, and they had the wealth and family traditions to ensure that their wins and events were remembered.

Clearly this period was dominated by the aristocratic *gennetai*, especially the prominent families outlined in Davies' genealogical Table I.[15] These families were rivals for power but by the fifth century they also became interconnected by marriage. Renowned for hippotrophy, the family of Kimon of the *genos* of the Philaidai included Hippokleides, the unsuccessful but possibly athletic suitor of Agariste of Sikyon and later the archon of 566. His cousin Miltiades III was famous both for the family's first chariot win at Olympia and for his career as tyrant of the Chersonese. Miltiades' half-brother Kimon I won two Olympic chariot victories while in exile, relinquishing the second to Pisistratus. Kimon's famous team won a third victory before the death of this grandfather of the politically famous Kimon of the fifth

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[13] Equestrian events were held at Olympia by the mid-seventh century (Paus. 5.8.7-8).

[14] Earlier, more obscure men like Stomas may have been credited with wins in the *stadion* rather than some other event by later writers because of the later custom of making the Olympic victor in the *stadion* eponymous for the year; see Gardiner, *GASF*, 272-73.

[15] For possible expanded stemmata using *kalos*-names (often in athletic contexts) cross-referenced with ostraca, workshops and genealogies, see H. A. Shapiro, "Epilykos Kalos," *Hesp.* 52 (1983): 305-10; "Kallias Kratiou Alopekethen," *Hesp.* 51 (1982): 69-73; and "Hippocrates Son of Anaxileos," *Hesp.* 49 (1980): 289-93. Shapiro associates the Alkmeonids, Pisistratids, Philaids, and the family of Kallias with *kalos*-names and fine pottery, but many of these early identifications remain highly conjectural.

century. With ties to the Kypselids of Corinth, Kimon's family was surpassed in fame and wealth only by the Alkmeonidai.

From the *genos* of the Kerykes, the family of Kallias is credited with the first Athenian horse race victory at Olympia, that of Kallias I. His grandson Kallias II, aided by his legendary wealth, carried on the family tradition by adding three Olympic chariot wins. As Davies explains, the rise in the family's power and position was largely post-Solonian: their early, landed wealth was enhanced by mining profits and also by cultic income from the *Dadouchia*, an Eleusinian priesthood.[16] Kallias III, the notorious spendthrift, may have inherited at least some interest in horses, for Xenophon places him as a spectator at a Panathenaic horse race; but by the fourth century the family's wealth was gone.[17]

Although it is debated whether the family constituted an *oikos* or a *genos*, the famous Alkmeonid family was definitely of Eupatrid status.[18] The first Alkmeonid—and the first Athenian—chariot victory at Olympia was won by Alkmeon I, son of Megakles the archon at the time of the Kylonian affair. Alkmeon's son, Megakles II, was the successful and possibly athletic suitor of Agariste. Another son of Alkmeon, Alkmeonides I, apparently won the Panathenaic chariot race ca. 546 as well as an earlier victory, possibly in the *hippios dromos*. An associate of the family, possibly a brother named Kratios, made a dedication on the Acropolis with Alkmeonides after a victory in the *pentathlon*. Alcibiades I, by his Pythian chariot victory, established chariot-racing as a tradition in his family, which later became connected to the Alkmeonidai and produced the politician and general, Alcibiades III.

Married briefly to the daughter of Megakles II, Pisistratus ruled Athens as tyrant for many years, and the political significance of his purchase of Kimon I's second Olympic chariot victory should be recognized. His father, Hippokrates I, is known only as a spectator at Olympia,[19] and Pisistratus' daughter may have married a hippotrophic individual, Thrasyboulos. With wealth from land, mining and cults, the Pisistratid family often included

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[16] Davies, *APF*, 254-70. Both Kallias II and Kallias III held this office, which possibly was hereditary in the family; K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," *TAPS* 64 pt. 3 (1974): 47-50.

[17] Xen. *Symp.* 1.2.

[18] See Matthew W. Dickie, "Pindar's Seventh Olympian and the Status of the Alkmeonids as *Oikos* or *Genos*," *Phoenix* 33 (1979): 193-209; Davies, *APF*, pp. 368-85. J. H. Oliver, "From *Gennetai* to *Curiales*," *Hesp.* 49 (1980): 30-56, accepts the Alkmeonids as a sacerdotal *genos* (36) but sees the Gephyraei as a hoplite *genos*. R. C. Smith, "The Clans of Athens and the Historiography of the Archaic Period," *EMC* 29 n.s. 4 (1985): 51-61, urges caution in the use of the term *genos*. Herein the term is used generally to apply to extended, aristocratic family groupings.

[19] Hdt. 1.59.1-2.

members with names with the suggestive root "Hipp-",[20] and Hippias and Hipparchos themselves may have been hippotrophic individuals.[21]

Antiphon I's hippotrophic interests were appropriate to his status (see Davies' Table I) and were passed on to his grandson, Antiphon II. Possibly a youthful victor, Leagros was related to Antiphon and later to Kallias III (see Table I); but his interests, in his early years at least, seem to have been gymnastic rather than equestrian. The name S]ost[ratos is too heavily restored for interpretation, and of Dyneiketos we know only that he could afford to commemorate his success by a commissioned vase-painting. Similarly, Epainetos is known only by his dedication of a *halter* at Eleusis. Menander and Melesias are conspicuous here, the former as a possible and the latter as a certain victor in the *pankration*, but their renown stems from their later careers as trainers. Although details about Menander are not available, Melesias' status was acceptable enough that his son Thucydides, the politician, was connected by marriage to the family of Kimon.

In sum, except for four men (Dyneiketos, Epainetos, Menander and Sostratos) about whom sufficient information is lacking, all the individuals of Period Two were wealthy (in *APF*), were noble (in Table I), and eventually were at least distantly related as members of the athletically and politically dominant aristocracy of Athens.

Period Three (490-404)

In this era Athens, reaching the height of her power and empire, was proud of her athletic facilities and festivals. Athletic activity was usually intense but appears to have decreased somewhat in the last quarter of the century. Aristophanes might blame the Sophists but the Peloponnesian War probably was more responsible. The preoccupation with hippotrophy and the dominence of the nobility gave way as the wealth and actual numbers of the nobles suffered through the fifth century. Athletes now also came from less ancient, less aristocratic, but still upper-class families. Again, some men are known only by the nature of their own victory dedications. A greater variety of events were participated in now, and the use of trainers in heavy events and drivers in equestrian events became the norm. With the increase of literary, inscriptional and archaeological sources, the numbers of known,

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[20] The significance of suggestive names (like Hipp-, or -nike) is an interesting issue; such names may reflect familial traditions, pretensions or aspirations concerning games or hippotrophy. However, such names by themselves are unreliable as historical evidence, and their significance is considered herein only if in combination with other indications of familial associations with athletics.

[21] Cf. Davies, *APF*, p. 454, who remains of the opinion that "... there is no evidence that the family ever engaged in horse-breeding or that successful intervention τεθρίππῳ at Panhellenic Games was an ingredient in its political achievement."

arguably athletic men increase greatly. However, analysis is complicated by shifting social patterns at Athens, and by the rise of alternatives to landed wealth and family ties as means to social and political advancement.[22]

Although the aristocratic families of Table I seem to be faltering or withdrawing from athletics, they are not completely absent. The Alkmeonid Megakles IV, ostracized and operating from exile, was victorious at the Pythia in 486. His son Megakles V, with his win in 436, was the last Alkmeonid to continue the family tradition of Olympic chariot victories. The political and financial decline of the family was so hastened, Davies feels, by its pro-Persian policies and the ostracisms in the 480s that the Alkmeonids were politically bankrupt by the 470s.[23] Although Megakles V's victory suggests there was still some landed wealth left in the second half of the fifth century, he was politically unimportant and was the last hippotrophic member of the central family.

Kimon II had the wealth but not the inclination for direct athletic competition, perhaps because he was too busy with his political career, campaigns and benefactions. Although Miltiades IV was known as a physically fit man and possibly was a former athlete, the family of Kimon was no longer athletically prominent. Although Antiphon II, connected by marriage in Table I to the family of Kritias and other aristocrats, inherited his grandfather's interest in horses, in the family of Kallias, Kallias III appears merely as a Panathenaic spectator and an admirer of the pancratiast Autolykos. These clans were on the defensive and turned to strategic marriages (such as that of Elpinike, daughter of Miltiades IV and sister of Kimon II, to Kallias II), adding to the interrelationships of Table I.[24]

Two prominent politicians, Themistocles and Thucydides, are associated with athletics, at least metaphorically, in literary sources. Themistocles was a noble of the *genos* of the Lykomidai and was wealthy enough that athletics and hippotrophy might seem appropriate for him.[25] His rivalry with Kimon in athletic and non-athletic settings was famous. Similarly, Thucydides, connected by marriage to the noble family of Kimon, is pictured as "wrestling" with Pericles, a very apt metaphor for the entangled, grasping political situation of fifth-century Athens.[26] Such metaphors better suit Thucydides

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[22] W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (Princeton, 1971), discussing changes in political groups in the second half of the fifth century, notes an influx of *nouveaux riches* and the withdrawal of traditional groups.

[23] Davies, *APF*, p. 381.

[24] See Davies, *APF*, p. 305. This research thus disagrees with MacKendrick's contention, *Athenian Aristocracy*, p. viii, that aristocratic competition in the Games continued "unabated" after Kleisthenes.

[25] For details on his wealth, see Davies, *APF*, 6669 IV.

[26] Plut. *Per.* 8.5, 11.1.

than Pericles, since wrestling was a family tradition for Thucydides.[27] No victories are recorded for these men; but the anecdotes suggest that they possibly were athletes, and that later authors regarded athletics as a normal part of the lifestyle of the leading Athenians of the fifth century.

Sophocles, Euripides and Plato are interesting because later biographical traditions probably played a part in their depictions as athletes or victors.[28] Hellenistic biographers drew inferences about classical authors from their writings, and in the later age a gymnastic education was a matter of course for citizens of good standing. Nevertheless, athletic experiences are quite possible for these three; Plato came from a very good family, and Euripides and Sophocles came from families that were wealthy and probably respectable. The case of Isocrates is similar since a late source credits him with equestrian experience, which the wealth of his family would have allowed.

Five individuals in this period, all sons of prominent men, were similarly notable for their athletic training and skills, but it cannot be proven that they were victors or even participants in the games. Kleophantos son of Themistocles was an accomplished horseman but otherwise insignificant. Thucydides had his two sons, Melesias II and Stephanos, trained until they were fine wrestlers, but they do not appear as victors or men of action. Likewise, Xanthippos II and Paralos were sons of Pericles, credited with athletic abilities, who died young without attaining victories. For each of these cases the common source is Plato's *Meno* where the philosopher discussed whether virtue can be taught. Like Lysimachos, son of Aristides,[29] these youths are examples of well-educated sons of famous men; they gained technical skills through training but lacked the unteachable virtue of their fathers. Moreover, their non-utilization of their athletic potential seems indicative of a decreasing involvement of the *aristoi* (of blood) in the Games. The exception, of course, is Alcibiades III, a ward of Pericles and connected distantly to the Alkmeonids, who adapted and continued chariot-racing on a grand scale.

Although old gentilician families are less prominent in Period Three, the actual number of known athletes increases. Athletics and hippotrophy still

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[27] Further metaphors include: Ar. *Ach.* 703-05; Plut. *Per.* 4.2; see H.T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides Son of Melesias," *JHS* 52 (1932): 208-11.

[28] Mary K. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides' *Vita*," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 187-210, re-advances her theory ("The Poet as Hero," *CQ* 28 (1978): 459-69) that autobiographical mythologies developed about literary figures in the fifth century. She argues that Euripides' *Vita* is made up mainly of anecdotes, created in or soon after the poet's lifetime, deriving from his own works or from comic poetry about him. Typical biographical elements such as "early recognition of talent," or "versatility" (including athletic success) may be part of the mythology of the poet as hero. For a full treatment of this biographical process, see her *Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore, 1981).

[29] Pl. *Meno* 94a-b.

required wealth, but the wealth need no longer be in the form of ancestral landed estates. Men who can be called "new athletes"—like Connor's "new politicians"[30]—had less impressive genealogies and family traditions, but they were men of good birth and standing. Their wealth, often from non-traditional sources offered by the empire, gave them the leisure, affluence and ambition to participate in athletics (or politics).

The following athletes of Period Three are of lesser nobility (by birth) but all belong to the Athenian upper class as catalogued in the *APF* register. Lysis I and Demokrates I are included in *APF* on the basis of their wealth as displayed by their hippotrophy; but the source of that wealth is uncertain, and their prosopographical ties are limited. Atrometos, apparently with little wealth or social status of his own, enters the register via the career of his son Aeschines the orator. Isocrates was the son of an obviously wealthy man but his pedigree seems rather limited. Aeshines claims that Timesitheos the runner was of good character, but his family becomes prominent and liturgically active only in the fourth century. Teisias, the friend of Alcibiades prior to the chariot incident of 416, was a general and a public figure, but his family's emergence seems recent. Pronapes was a hipparch and made an expensive dedication on the Acropolis but his origins are obscure. Timotheos was honored with a statue on the Acropolis but his family cannot be traced back past the mid-fifth century. The father of the speaker of Lysias 19 (A78 cf. A74) was wealthy, but his career seems to have been military and his known familial ties were recent. The appearance of these men at this time should not be interpreted simply as a sudden popularization of athletics: rather the money that was needed came now from several sources, and aristocratic birth was becoming less significant.[31]

With some individuals the very nature of the evidence for their athletic activity provides the only clue to their socio-economic status. The dedication of Hagnias of only a stone discus may suggest that his victory or resources were not substantial enough for a more lavish dedication; he is possibly related to Bouselos but otherwise unknown. Eupheros too is otherwise

[30] Connor, *New Politicians*, 153-59. Simlarly, of leaders like Cleon and Cleophon, M.I. Finley, "Athenian Demagogues," *Past and Present* 21 (1962): 3-24, comments (16): "... these were in fact not poor men ... but men of means who differed from their predecessors in their ancestry and their outlook, and who provoked resentment and hostility for their presumption in breaking the old monopoly of leadership."

[31] It is perhaps understandable that status-conscious, ambitious *neoploutoi* would adopt aristocratic values and pastimes, such as landholding, athletics and hippotrophy. Under the democracy social values remained aristocratic and non-egalitarian. As Arnheim, *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, 156, declares, "... democratic Athens was simultaneously anti-aristocratic in government and aristocratic in ethos." Similarly, K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality* (London, 1975), 34-35, notes that the Athenian citizen body, accustomed to considering themselves as an élite relative to slaves and metics, tended to adopt the values of those whose wealth and leisure were well above average.

unknown, but his grave and stele point to some good family. Epicharinos appears to be an obscure individual, but his expensive dedication of a sculpture by the famous Kritios for a win of uncertain grandeur in the hoplite race implies that he or his family was wealthy. Conceivably these men—who might be in *APF* if only we knew more about them—were emulating the earlier athletic dedications on the Acropolis of men like Kimon and Alkmeonides.

Two athletes are known only from odes by lyric poets. Although the brother-in-law at least was able to afford the ode, Bacchylides is vague about the family of Aglaos the runner, perhaps because the family or its money was new. Pindar claims many victors for the family of Timodemos (cf. Diophanes A17 and A18) but the family is not well known. Neither of these men appears in *APF* but they must have been prominent enough to afford and desire commissioned odes. If they were *neoploutoi* they also may have been emulating men like Megakles IV, for whom Pindar claims multiple ancestral victories in *Pyth.* 7.

Athens had a reputation for its heavy athletes, some of whom form another prominent but less aristocratic group in this period. After his own victories, Melesias had a long and successful career as a trainer of Aeginetan athletes. Menander likewise was a famous trainer of heavy athletes and thus a possible athlete himself, although otherwise unknown. Xanthias and Eudoros appear as athletes and trainers at Athens but are otherwise unknown.[32] The pancratiast Hermolykos came from a family of generals used by Connor as an example of a family of *neoploutoi*: they were slandered in comedy and had considerable, though not landed, wealth as well as respectable, but not gentilician, status.[33] Athens' lone pre-Hellenistic Periodonikes, Kallias the son of Didymias, publicly opposed Pericles enough to be ostracized, and the rewards from his victories alone would have made him a man of means. We do not know how he became an athlete, but a later association with Thucydides is conceivable. Diophanes I (and his apparent grandson Diophanes II in the fourth century) is known only from his not inexpensive dedication and epigram on the Acropolis. Son of a demagogue, the pancratiast Autolykos was a person of some means; he was well known and acceptable enough to associate with Kallias III and to be put to death by the Thirty. Of these men only Melesias appears in Table I as a member of an aristocratic household, but what is known of the others suggests that they were prominent and respectable citizens. Given the nature of the evidence, it is incorrect simply to assume that a man who is otherwise unknown was therefore poor or ignoble.

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[32] On these men as trainers, see below, p. 144.

[33] Connor, *New Politicians*, 156-58, stemma p. 157.

In Period Three the social world of athletics at Athens seems to have undergone a change.[34] Athletics were no longer predominantly *aristocratic* (by birth); but, even in the area of the heavy events, athletics were still arguably *élitist* (by wealth).

Period Four (404-355)

Athens recovered remarkably quickly after the Peloponnesian War, and Athenian involvement in civic and Panhellenic athletics continued, though perhaps with diminished splendor.[35] Financed by an extensive system of liturgies, the Athenian festival program even seems to have expanded.[36] While sources for the period do increase because of the development of oratory and philosophical writings, nevertheless, the number of known athletes hardly suggests a "decline" in athletic activity. Certain points should be noted. Economic hardships in this era may explain a drastic reduction in the number of equestrian victors : Chabrias won the only chariot victory and that was at the Pythia, not at Olympia.[37] It is a debatable issue whether Krates' win in the *apobates* should be considered equestrian or not. Both running and heavy events are well represented from several festivals. The athletes themselves fall into two groups : those who are well documented and are (or could be) in *APF*; and those who are known only by their athletic activity and are not in *APF*.

Similar to the "new athletes" of Period Three, some individuals are from the upper class but are not known for landed wealth or aristocratic birth. Epichares came from a politically and militarily active, liturgical family, but the source of its money is unknown. With his father Atrometos and his brother Philochares, Aeschines had wealth appropriate to the liturgical class, but his wealth was recent and seems to have come from political bribes and properties abroad. The general Chabrias came from a well-to-do liturgical family, but his significant prosopographical connections are only through his father-in-law. Philippos was wealthy enough to become a syntrierarch, but his social and athletic status is uncertain. Theaitetos and Socrates the Younger are not catalogued in *APF*, but Theaitetos' father had been a man

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[34] Certain individuals have been excluded from analysis because of questionable nationality (Phrynichos, Pythodelos), uncertain indentity (A76; A74 cf. A78) or the indefinite restoration of a name (Lyk]ophron).

[35] Athens recovered economically quite quickly, but wealth was distributed unequally and tended to be held and spent privately; Mossé, *Athens in Decline*, 12-17, 42-49. On Aristophanes as a historical source for socio-economic problems (such as debt, poverty, decreased social mobility, and the gap between rich and poor), see E. David, *Aristophanes and Athenian Society of the Early Fourth Century* (Leiden, 1984).

[36] On the fourth-century Panathenaea, see above, p. 36ff.

[37] Cf. the history of the once hippotrophic family of Demokrates (A15).

of property. Plato depicts both youths as able to afford leisure and education, but Theaitetos' character gets more attention than his lineage.

Conspicuous in the second group of non-*APF* and otherwise unknown athletes are the Olympic *stadion* victors Minos and Phokides. The unnamed son of Eualkos (A77) was an Olympic contender, but it is curious that Agesilaus rather than the lad's father attended to his entry. Sosippos and Pythostratos, if truly Athenian, are known only for their *stadion* wins. Krates and his father are known only from their *apobates* relief from the Agora; the same applies to Hegestratos with his dedication from the Acropolis. Also in this second group are some rather obscure men who seem to represent a continuing Athenian interest in heavy events. Philammon, the Olympic boxer with the name suggestive of Egypt, is otherwise unknown, and of Diophanes II we know only that his grandfather may also have won the Isthmian *pankration*. K]ydeides is known only as a victor in wrestling at Eleusis.

It certainly would be desirable to know more about men like Minos, for arguing from silence is ineffective in this type of situation. Nevertheless, the two groups of Period Four seem to continue trends noted in Period Three. Where evidence is available, wealth but not aristocratic status continues to be a factor. Furthermore, athletics now seem more closely associated with military and oratorical careers rather than with land ownership and the traditional "politics of friendship."[38] Some explanation may lie with the naval and liturgical activity of Athens' recovery or with the rise of specialization in politics.

Period Five (355-322)

In this era Athens resisted but finally succumbed to the power of Macedon. It was a time of philosophical and oratorical activity with the schools of Plato and Aristotle and the antagonism between Demosthenes and Aeschines. Lycurgus attempted to revive Athens' greatness, and the ephebic system was discernibly in operation.

Very little information is available about certain gymnastic competitors of Period Five whom some might want to regard as members of a "class" or "profession" of athletes. The *stadion* victors Aristolochos and Antikles are otherwise unknown; Antidorides II, the son of a sycophant and rhetor, is simply known as the "*stadion*-runner." Dioxippos and Euphraios appear in a speech by Hyperides as strong men and *prosgymnastai*. Like Philammon earlier, such men appear to be well known citizens who were socially recognized by the athletic aspects of their lives. The case of Kallippos' bribery perhaps

[38] Connor, *New Politicians*, 30-43.

can be taken as an indication of immorality in athletics, but bribery at Olympia would have been expensive; Kallippos must have had some wealth to be able to compete and to attempt a victory by bribery at Olympia.[39] Some argument for Dioxippos as a professional athlete might be made from his accompaniment of Alexander and from his individual combat arranged by Alexander. However, the relevant sources are quite limited, and the athleticism of some individuals was apparently more of a characterization (cf. Timesitheos) than a profession. Recall that men known only as athletes appear in Period One as well as Five.[40]

The group from the victor list of the Amphiaraia at Oropos forms a special case. Comprised of two fragments, this list is dated by Basileios Petrakos to ca. 366-338.[41] Except for two individuals, Ki[k]on and Stratokles, for whom Davies suggests identifications with families in *APF*, these sixteen victors could be described as "otherwise unknown." Depending on the date accepted for the list, the games were under Macedonian or Athenian control. Since athletes from several states appear on the long list, the festival was Panhellenic;[42] but one should also note that Oropos was close and easily reached from Athens. While the gymnastic victors from Athens are all boys or youths, the age of the equestrian winners is uncertain. An absence of four-horse chariots is perhaps worthy of note. Such an extensive list is a chance find this early, and there are no similar finds from contemporary Athens.[43] The age of the victors and the accessibility of the contest for Athenians may be significant.[44] One should not simply compare the records of Period Two with this evidence from a local, lesser festival and then pronounce that Athenian athletics have degenerated or become popularized.

Equestrian events of various types seem to revive in popularity in Period

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[39] The sending of Hyperides to appeal Kallippos' fine may show that the burden of payment lay with the state of the athlete. C.A. Forbes, "Crime and Punishment in Greek Athletics," *CJ* 49 (1951/52): 171, n. 15, further suggests that this incident may have been fresh in the mind of Aeschines when, in 330 (*In Ctes.* 3.179-80), he spoke of the improbability of getting an Olympic crown by intrigue.

[40] The names of three men (A73, P116, P86) are too fragmentary for conclusions, and Xenokles is known only by his dedication. The three youths from the athletic relief on the Acropolis (Antigenes, Idomeneus, Ant[-]) are otherwise unknown, but someone paid for the expensive dedication.

[41] *IG* VII 414; *IG* II 5, 978b; Basileos Petrakos, *O Oropos kai to Hieron tou Amphiaraou*, Greek Archaeological Society Publications no. 63 (Athens, 1968), see no. 47, pp. 194-98; cf. the argument for 338-322 by E. Preuner, "Amphiaraia und Panathenaia," *Hermes* 57 (1922): 80-106. For an inscription possibly recording Athenian regulations for the festival of 329/8 at Oropos, see Michael B. Walbank, "Regulations for an Athenian Festival," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 173-82.

[42] For example, the Macedonian winner of the men's *dolichos* (line 10).

[43] Cf. the second-century victor lists from the Theseia, *IG* II^2 956-958.

[44] Overall the higher representation of boys and youths in Periods Four and Five—perhaps due to the addition of new age classes—may account in part for the lower representation of athletes of these periods in *APF*.

Five; increased cavalry activity may have been a factor, but also *nouveaux riches* individuals apparently were using horses to exhibit their wealth. Timokrates II was a wealthy but non-noble syntrierarch accused by Demosthenes of gaining money from his political activities. The non-noble orator Demades, seen as a self-advertising *nouveau riche* politician by Davies,[45] won the last Athenian equestrian victory at Olympia in pre-Hellenistic times. Phokos was the son of a well-to-do and popular general. His victory in the questionably equestrian *apobates* bears comparison with the victories in the *anthippasia* of the mid-fourth century of Demainetos I and his two sons.[46] Of rentier status and possibly associated with Demades,[47] these men were active in deme and tribal affairs; their militarily-flavoured victories represent their agonistic claim to recognition. Demetrios of Phaleron, although he was a *gennetes* and his victories may date later than the lower limit of this study, also seems to fit this last group of *nouveaux riches* equestrian victors. He likewise is a member of *APF* but his wealth and the public activity of his family were recent developments. For a short time at least, Demetrios and others of wealth (if not necessarily of prestigious birth) again turned to hippotrophy seeking its traditional aristocratic connotations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this prosopographical study shows historical developments more in line with changes in Athenian society at large than with the oft-lamented "decline" of Greek athletics. While there is agreement with Pleket's argument that the upper classes persisted in athletics, it is important to note changes in the composition of the Athenian upper class.

The gymnastic athletes of evidentially-limited Period One include famous and also otherwise unknown men. Period Two reveals the dominance in athletics, as in social and political life, of landed, internationally connected, gentilician families. These *gennetai* seem preoccupied with hippotrophy, but possibly some of them had practised gymnastic events in their youth before shifting in later life to the more spectacular realm of hippotrophy. With imperialistic and anti-aristocratic developments in Period Three, "new athletes"—not *eupatridai* but not *poneroi*—appear in both equestrian and gymnastic events. Social prominence as shown through athletic family traditions may have been a factor in the re-alignments and intermarriages to

[45] Davies, *APF*, pp. 99-102.

[46] Recorded on the Bryaxis base, *IG* II^2 3130. MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 69 n. 33, accepts the base (and *IG* II^2 1138, victory in an unknown contest) as evidence of "athletic victories."

[47] On possible relatives of these phylarchs, see Davies, *APF*, 3276 and p. 103; and MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 8, 69 n. 33.

which the old aristocracy now resorted. In the last decades of the fifth century the landed aristocracy was less evident in athletics and public life. This social group, but not athletics, was in decline: in fact, more Athenian Olympic champions are known from the fourth century than the fifth. The "new athletes" came from new propertied families (*neoploutoi*), men of leisure, increasing education, and often non-landed wealth. Whether these men pushed out the aristocrats or filled in the space upon their withdrawal is debatable.

With non-aristocratic athletes in the fifth century appears a group of more obscure individuals concentrating on the heavy events. Although training was increasingly important for success, one should nor simply label these men "professionals" and blame them for the decline of the aristocracy in athletics.[48] From his victories, Kallias Didymiou might seem a likely candidate for professional status, but he is also known as a prominent and politically active citizen. Along with upper class "new athletes," obscure heavy athletes continue in Periods Four and Five, but there are also obscure *stadion* runners. References to men by their athletic abilities may indicate their characterization rather than their occupation.[49] The career of Dioxippos makes him the most likely Athenian professional athlete, and the actions of Kallippos form the soundest indication of moral degeneration. However, these possible examples of professionalism and decadence among Athenian athletes are late and atypical for pre-Hellenistic Athens.[50]

Always in association with the wealth of an upper class, hippotrophy seems to have decreased with the fortunes of Athens in Period Four. Its revival in Period Five shows its strong appeal to status-conscious men of wealth. The popularity of hippotrophy, like that of expensive odes and dedications, is an indication that the ideology of athletics remained aristocratic. Neither equestrian nor gymnastic competition was for everyone, and winning always meant more than participating.

Overall, the available evidence indicates that in pre-Hellenistic Athens gymnastic and equestrian athletics were persistently élitist. Given the natural physical inequalities of men and the fact that physical potential was a prerequisite, athletic success tended to favor the few who had the leisure, finances and inclination to train and travel. It is important to note the social shift

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[48] There is little force in Bilinski's argument, *Agonistica*, 57-74, that Athenian democracy produced professionalism in athletics and changed the whole nature of sport, as well as influencing the triumph of the intellectual over the physical conception of virtue. Cf. H.W. Pleket's review in *Stadion* 5 (1979): 282-85.

[49] M.F. Shelden, "Greek Athletics in the Writings of the Greek Historians" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1974), concludes that Greek historians mention athletic ability as a means of identifying individuals. For instance, Hdt. 6.92, 9.75 refers to Eurybates tha Aeginetan as "a man practised in the *pentathlon*" or "a victor in the *pentathlon*."

[50] On professionalism, see below, p. 148ff.

in athletics from an élitism of *birth* to an élitism of *wealth.*[51] That so many victors appear in *APF* confirms an *a priori* assumption of the need for wealth. That so many athletes and their families are known from political and military contexts indicates the social pre-eminence of the families of athletes.[52]

At Athens athletics demonstrably were related to wealth and social prominence.[53] In terms of participation in Panhellenic contests, there was no revolutionary popularization of sport brought about by prizes, democracy or professionalism.[54] Athletics seem to follow rather than precede the social advancement of families. In actual competition men won by merit, but socio-economic factors affected one's chances of competing. Men of limited resources were limited to local and lesser contests and to modest celebrations and dedications. Men of whom nothing is known but their athletic activity cannot be placed socially or economically; increases in their numbers may say more about increasing sources than about the sociology of athletics. In the fourth as in earlier centuries, the mass of the Athenian population watched and enjoyed the athletic endeavors of a minority.

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[51] While in the sixth century athletics implied noble birth, which itself implied wealth, by the fourth century athletics still imply wealth in some form but socially the correlation of wealth to noble birth had ended. On the significance of élitism (of birth and wealth) despite its inconsistency with democratic ideals, see Robin Seager, "Elitism and Democracy in Classical Athens," in F.C. Jaher, ed., *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful* (Urbana, 1973), 7-26.

[52] Cf. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 160-61, who sees the social status of athletes and their families, suggested by military or political activity, as later than and due to their athletic success: "Surely some athletes turned politicians were of noble stock, but there is no proof that all were."

[53] Young, *Olympic Myth*, 147-62 and "Professionalism in Archaic and Classical Greek Athletics, *AncW* 7 (1983): 45-51, argues that professionalism, in the sense of competition for money and the presence of non-noble athletes, existed from the sixth century, with the Western Greeks perhaps taking the lead. Young itemizes and evaluates sources of athletic profit, showing that prizes could make one wealthy and that even crown games led to large profits. He corrects several poorly founded assumptions about some Olympic victors and draws attention to the careers of others in order to undermine the notion of aristocratic exclusiveness and to argue that sport allowed social mobility in archaic Greece. Young argues that a boy of natural ability (of "moderate origins" but probably not those from the lowest economic scale (159)) might win a prize in a local game, use it to finance a trip to a larger festival, win and so afford some professional coaching, and thus launch a career (by prizes alone without subsidization). Although Young admits (163) the "extensive participation of the nobility," he establishes the *possibility* that non-nobles could become wealthy via athletics. My study substantiates the *probability* (although not the certainty) that most (although not all) early athletes came from well-off families. Cf. my review of Young in *EMC* 29 n.s. 4 (1985): 134-42. The "democratization" of sport, which I would date later than many, was a matter of an improved standard of living, increased leisure, improved facilities and changing attitudes: it was not simply a matter of prizes.

[54] Matthew Dickie, "Phaeacian Athletes," in F. Cairns, ed., *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, Fourth Volume 1983* (Liverpool, 1984), 247-51, has asserted that the aristocratic assumptions of Homeric athletics—that athletics were the preserve of the well-born and that the pursuit of κλέος (rather than κέρδος) is admirable—are attested in fifth- and fourth-century Athens. He sees an association of social prominence with athletic exercise in literary passages including: Eur. *El.* 528; Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.13; Ar. *Ran.* 727-30; Aeschin. 3.255 and 2.149; Theophr. *Char.* 27.4; and less directly Ar. *Vesp.* 1190-95, 1202-07 and Isoc. *Areo.* 45.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICS AND CRITICISMS

INTRODUCTION

Despite increasing evidence and the demythologizing trend of recent scholarship, the conventional picture of the history of Greek athletics remains influential. Athletics are depicted, after an early, brief period of glory, as in a pattern of decline and degeneration with training and rewards producing professionalism.[1] This picture is partly based on critical comments by ancient authors, and the following discussion evaluates the reliability of critics and criticisms of pre-Hellenistic Athenian athletics. Since Athens' athletic festivals were still developing, facilities were becoming more elaborate, and athletic participation continued and remained élitist, perhaps 'transformation' would be more appropriate than the value-laden concept of 'decline' for describing developments in the athletic history of pre-Hellenistic Athens.

According to Gardiner and others, the history of Greek athletics conforms to a 'rise and fall' pattern in which the popularity of early athletic competition was its own undoing.[2] After a golden age of aristocratic, amateur athletics, the sixth century saw a dangerous expansion of athletic festivals and honors for victors. Increased competition led to specialization, athletes had to prepare and excel more and more, and this became feasible for only one event per individual.[3] Soon personal preparations needed to be supplemented by supervision and training by hired experts. Over-competition, over-specialization, and increasingly technical training in the fifth century promoted the rise of "professional" athletes.[4] These professionals, often from the lower classes or less civilized areas, lived off their prizes; they debased athletics socially and morally.[5] Noble amateurs were forced to withdraw from competition

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[1] Major exponents include E. N. Gardiner, J. Jüthner and H. A. Harris. B. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 25-49, from a Marxist point of view, depicts society passing from a primitive to a plutocratic stage, with sport being attacked and declining as an aristocratic privilege. On the conventional picture, see above, p. 3ff.

[2] Gardiner, *AAW*, 99, and Marrou, *Education*, 93, compare the exaggerated importance attached to victory in early Greek and in modern society.

[3] Gardiner, *GASF*, 101. Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 69, hypothesize that specialization began not later than 700 or 680, from the time when the Olympic program became diversified and began to attract competitors from Southern Italy, but evidence is unavailable.

[4] Gardiner, *AAW*, 44: "Indeed, from the middle of the fifth century the athletic interest begins to decline in Greece. A change was taking place in the character of athletes. ... there arose a class of professional athletes ...."

[5] The conventional picture has had a pervasive influence. Frank J. Frost, *Greek Society*, (Lexington, Mass., 1971), 97, writes of "professional" athletes in the fourth century: "Husky

or to retire to the more detached realm of hippotrophy. In combination with other developments like radical democracy and Sophism, athletic professionalism supposedly changed Athens from a nation of athletes to a nation of spectators.[6]

There are two methodological faults in this picture and its application to Athens. The first problem is the subjectivity of the approach. As Pleket has noted, scholarship in this area has suffered from a "classicist bias" (the tendency to impose a rise and fall structure) and from an obvious preference for amateurs over professionals.[7] For example, Gardiner, condemning the "evil results of professionalism" as "fatal to the true amateur spirit," charges that "When money enters into sport, corruption is sure to follow."[8] Modern notions of amateurism, and concerns about money and excess in sport, have blurred historians' visions.[9] The second fault is that this picture often is based on post-classical and non-Athenian sources, or it relies heavily on critical Athenian authors.[10] A significant body of pre-Hellenistic critical testimony on Athenian athletics does exist, but it needs to be examined carefully both internally and against independent evidence. The nature of the critical sources and the influence of literary conventions must be recognized.[11]

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farm boys, swift street urchins, tough juveniles from the waterfront were all actively recruited by the state and then fed, sheltered, and trained at state expense in order to bring home first prizes ...."

[6] Forbes, *GPE*, 91, and Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 60-67, regard fourth-century athletics as a matter of spectacle with incapable masses watching socially useless professionals.

[7] Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 51-53. Pleket challenges the conventional picture on conceptual and factual grounds, contending (pp. 71-72) that from Pindar's until Roman Imperial times members of the upper classes were never absent from sport (neither in the running events nor in the contact sports) and that the prevailing ideology of Greek sport was always a product of that same class.

[8] Gardiner, *GASF*, 134; *AAW*, 3, 103. Likewise, Harris, *SGR*, 40:

> When money comes in at the door, sport flies out of the window; and the Greek athletic scene thereafter exhibits the same abuses that are becoming only too familiar to us in our big business world of so-called "sport."

Forbes, *GPE*, 262, feels that athleticism was "insidious and deadly" and that physical education and professional athletics were "irreconcilable foes."

[9] As well as the early Olympism detailed by Young, *Olympic Myth*, Part One, 7-103, the conventional picture reflects late nineteenth-century historiographic concerns with the problem of the decline of civilizations; see A. Momigliano, "Declines and Falls," *American Scholar* 49 no. 1 (1979-80): 37-50.

[10] The strongest evidence for 'decline' concerns historical individuals and their actions: the amazing victories of Theagenes, the might and appetite of Milo, the 'selling out' of Astylos, and other examples of multiple victories or the influence of politics or money. However, such cases are often known from late sources, such as Pausanias, allowing time for the tales to grow even taller and the athletes to become more heroic or Herculean. Extensive, specific discussions of athletics are rare in ancient literature, so there has been a tendency to generalize from late sources, such as Galen's *Protrepticus* 9-14. Far from being representative, such cases may have been exceptional and remembered as such.

[11] On the literary and ideological aspects of such criticisms in general, see Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 113-27; Robinson, "Greek Critics," 167-76; R. Muth, "Der Sieg zu Olympia.

Thus developments in Athenian athletics which have been seen as signs of decline are to be studied objectively and thoroughly from the available pre-Hellenistic Athenian sources.

Comments on athletics at Athens ranged from anonymous graffiti to philosophical discussions.[12] A variety of Athenian authors (and thence modern scholars) have tended to depict developments in Athenian athletics negatively. With earlier, non-Athenian criticisms by Tyrtaeus and Xenophanes, conventional literary elements (*topoi*) had arisen: the value of the athlete as citizen and soldier was deprecated, and disproportionate honors for athletes —rather than intellectuals—were condemned. Major Athenian criticisms of the state of athletics appear in the last third of the fifth century in the context of the Peloponnesian War and Sophism. Earlier criticisms of the popular evaluation of athletes now were supplemented by criticisms of excessive training (especially eating habits) and over-specialization as well as criticisms of the decline of physical education. Literary complaints in works by Euripides and Aristophanes were followed in the fourth century by philosophical references and statements by orators, but with little variation on the earlier critical themes.

The following first examines the critical passages and their critical motifs (what they subjectively or ideologically opposed and why) following roughly the order of their appearance with some grouping by genre.[13] The testimonia are examined critically as evidence for developments in athletics and attitudes at Athens. Literary sources should not be used casually or in isolation, so a second discussion looks at independent or neutral evidence on the issues

Faszination und Kritik," *Schriftum aus Tirol* 15 (1976): 7-39; P.A. Bernardini, "Esaltazione e critica dell'atletismo nella poesia greca dal VII al V sec. a. C.—Storia di un'ideologia," *Stadion* 6 (1980): 81-112. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 5-11, offers a literary and social study of the themes of praise and intellectual criticism of sport, and of the antagonism between the physical and intellectual realms.

[12] Lang, *Agora XXI*, 12, 21, discusses a graffito (C5, of ca. 520-480; *Hesp.* 25 (1956): 63) from a plain hydria which she restores as "Titas the Olympic victor is a lecherous fellow" (Τίτας 'Ολυ⟨μ⟩πιόν̣[ι]κ̣ος καταπύγνον). The victory is assumed to be figurative, and Lang suggests the jug may have been presented to Titas, as a parody of the Panathenaic amphorae, to suggest his championship in his other capacity. Cf. O. Vox, "Un pederasta dell'Agora," *ZPE* 26 (1977): 118 (*SEG* XXVI 63), who suggests a restoration of a name Olympiodoros and a possible identification with Olympiodoros Lamponos (*PA* 11385 and 11389) who was *lochagos* of a special troop at Plataea (Hdt. 9.21; Plut. *Aris.* 14.5). On the uncertainty of both interpretations and on Olympiodoros as *kalos*, see H.I. Immerwahr, "A Lekythos in Toronto and the Golden Youth of Athens," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 61. If Lang is correct, this is one of many jokes and analogies showing how deeply athletics permeated Athenian life and literature. M.F. Shelden, "Athletics in the Greek Historians," 74-75, concludes that historians mentioned athletics neutrally, simply as an accepted part of life. Similarly, see T.S. Brown, "Herodotus' Views on Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983): 17-29, who notes that Herodotus makes no specific remarks on the value or uselessness of athletics but still feels that Herodotus "... had a soft spot in his heart for the games." (29).

[13] No major discussions by Athenians have been omitted, but there is no claim to have covered every reference to sports in Athenian literature.

most commonly associated with decline in athletics: training, rewards and professionalism. Concluding remarks review the significance and reliability of the critical sources (the Critics) and assess the applicability of the conventional picture (the Criticisms) to Athens. It is argued that the criticisms were influenced by literary conventions, and that they at most reflect understandable and ineffectual minority viewpoints. Furthermore, the evidence overall—including the critics themselves—suggests that athletics at Athens were neither diminishing nor popularly disliked.[14]

The Critics

In Greek literature overall, negative comments about athletics appear remarkably early. Tyrtaeus, the seventh-century author of Spartan war songs, valued athletic far below military prowess, saying that athletic excellence and Panhellenic victories mattered little without victory in battle.[15] Xenophanes, the Ionian poet and philosopher, made a famous criticism of public adulation and rewards for athletic and equestrian victors ca. 525.[16] Such victors were less worthy than poets:

> ἀστοῖσίν κ᾽ εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν,
> καὶ κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
> καὶ κεν σῖτ᾽ εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων
> ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ δῶρον ὅ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη-

> ... even if he [victor] should become a most glorious symbol for all his fellow citizens to observe, and win a front row seat at the games and his meals at public expense and some especially valuable gift from the state ....[17]

Such civic honors are inappropriate for athletes and should go to intellectuals like himself (lines 11-15). Xenophanes' juxtaposition of wisdom and strength (human and equestrian), and his preference for intellectual over physical

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[14] The negative judgement of athletes was shared neither by the people not the athletes themselves. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80-87, contends that even in the post-classical era the athletes retained the early aristocratic ethos of athletics stressing glory, courage and endurance. He sees this ideological continuity as due partly to the continued involvement of the upper classes in athletics, and partly to the tendency of non-upper class people to emulate the aristocratic ideal of independence and leisure.

[15] Tyrtaeus frag. 12.1-2,10-14; West, *Iambi et Elegi*, 2: 157; Marrou, *Education*, 37-38. Despite Sparta's impressive wins in the early games, the individualism of athletic *arete* was to be subordinated to the military ethic of service to the state—especially so in the context of the Messenian Wars. The ancient tradition (Pl. *Leg.* 629a; Paus. 4.15.6) that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian teacher is generally discounted.

[16] Xenophanes frag. 2 (Diels) *apud* Ath. 10.413f-414c; West, *Iambi et Elegi*, 2: 165-66; C.M. Bowra, "Xenophanes and the Olympic Games," *AJPhil.* 59 (1938): 257-79; M. Marcovich, "Xenophanes on Drinking Parties and the Olympic Games," *ICS* 3 (1978): 1-26.

[17] Xenophanes frag. 2.6-9; trans. S.G. Miller. Like Tyrtaeus', Xenophanes' remarks come within a list of denials. He blames society for giving the rewards, not the athlete for accepting them.

arete were often repeated, as was his closing assertion that athletes aid neither the good order (*eunomia*) nor the finances of a city (lines 19-22). Athens rewarded her athletes as Xenophanes describes, and the military and intellectual evaluations of athletes and of honors for victors reappeared in Athenian literature.

A fragment of Euripides' *Autolykos* of ca. 420, borrowing from Xenophanes according to Athenaeus, appears to be the earliest Athenian criticism of athletes.[18]

κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα
οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους.
οἳ πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν οὔτε μανθάνουσιν εὖ
οὔτ' ἂν δύναιτο· πῶς γὰρ ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ
γνάθου τε δοῦλος νηδύος θ' ἡσσημένος
κτήσαιτ' ἂν ὄλβον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός;
οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι καὶ ξυνηρετεῖν τύχαις
οἷοί τ' ἔθη γὰρ οὐκ ἐθισθέντες καλὰ
σκληρῶς μεταλλάσσουσιν εἰς τἀμήχανα
λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἥβῃ καὶ πόλεως ἀγάλματα
φοιτῶσ' ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρόν,
τρίβωνες ἐκβαλόντες οἴχονται κρόκας.
ἐμεμψάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον,
οἳ τῶνδ' ἕκατι σύλλογον ποιούμενοι
τιμῶσ' ἀχρείους ἡδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριν.
τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εὖ, τίς ὠκύπους ἀνὴρ
ἢ δίσκον ἄρας ἢ γνάθον παίσας καλῶς
πόλει πατρῴᾳ στέφανον ἤρκεσεν λαβών;
πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χεροῖν
δίσκους ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων ποσὶ
θείνοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;
οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας
στάς. ἄνδρας οὖν χρὴν τοὺς σοφούς τε κἀγαθοὺς
φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χὥστις ἡγεῖται πόλει
κάλλιστα σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνήρ,
ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακὰ
μάχας τ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ στάσεις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ
πόλει τε ταύτῃ πᾶσί θ' Ἕλλησιν καλά.

Of all the thousand ills that prey on Hellas not one is greater than the tribe of athletes; for, first, they never learn how to live well, nor, indeed, could they; seeing that a man, slave to his jaws and belly, cannot hope to heap up wealth superior to his sire's. How to be poor and to row in fortune's boat they know no better; for they have not learned manners that make men proof against ill luck.

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[18] Ath. 10.413f. Ath. 10.413c calls this "the first *Autolykos*;" see Edmonds *FAC* 1 : 326-27. D.F. Sutton, *The Greek Satyr Play* (Meisenheim, 1980), 60, argues that this satyric *Autolykos* was produced in the same year (421) as the comedy of that name by Eupolis (Ath. 5.216d), and that a satyr play about athletics in myth was as appropriate as a comedy parodying the contemporary athlete (see A12).

Lustrous in youth, they lounge like living statues decking the streets; but when sad old age comes, they fall and perish like a threadbare coat. I've often blamed the customs of us Hellenes, who for the sake of such men meet together to honour idle sport and feed our fill. For who, I pray you, by his skill in wrestling, swiftness of foot, good boxing, strength at quoits, has ever served his city by the crown he gains? Will they meet men and fight with quoits in hand, or in the press of shields drive forth the foeman by force of fisticuffs from hearth and home? Such follies are forgotten face to face with steel. We therefore ought to crown with wreaths men wise and good, and him who guides the State; a man well-tempered, just and sound in counsel, or one who by his words averts evil deeds, warding off strife and warfare; for such things bring honour on the city and all Hellenes.[19]

Like earlier and later criticisms, this passage censures the custom of honoring victors more than wise and good men.[20] It also echoes Tyrtaeus' disparagement of the military value of athletes. In addition, indicating the rise of training and athletic over-development, and perhaps influenced by Hippocratic thought or a passage from Achaeus, Euripides' criticism introduces the "athlete" (not just the "victor") physically as a caricature.[21] In literature the stereotypic athlete remained an overfed, unsophisticated lout who outlived his beauty and his health.[22] Despite their public adulation, athletes, unlike intellectuals and good citizens, win no lasting good for themselves or for their cities; they are morally, militarily and civically inadequate. Since this motif was a literary *topos*, the passage from the *Autolykos* must be used with caution.[23] This was

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[19] Euripides *Autolykos* frag. 282 (Nauck *TGF* 441) *apud* Ath. 10.413c-f; trans. S.G. Miller.

[20] A late fifth-century comic passage by Eupolis (frag. 104, *apud* Ath. 9.408d, Edmonds *FAC* 1: 342-43) voices resentment that victors get rewards while the good man and the useful citizen (χρήσιμος πολίτης) gets nothing.

[21] An Athenian tragic poet of the mid-fifth century, Achaeus of Eretria, according to Athenaeus (Nauck *TGF* 579, *apud* Ath. 10.414d), wrote admonishingly περὶ τῆς εὐεξίας τῶν ἀθλητῶν. A lost work, *The Games* (*Athla*) (Ath. 10.417f; 15.689b), seen by Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 69-70, as a satyr play about athletics, may have been the source. Sutton suggests that the fragment from Euripides is "... an attack both on cities for honoring athletes above more genuinely useful citizens and on the corruptive influence of the athletic *bios*. ... The second component is rather anticipatory of Zethus' attack on the artistic way of life in Euripides' later *Antiope*." Marcovich, "Xenophanes on Drinking Parties," 26, points out that the Euripidean fragment "... connected Xenophanes' 'wisdom of an educator of citizens' with Tyrtaeus' *virtus bellica* and contrasted them with athletic skill ...." and further (36 n. 37) that Euripides also reflects Hippocratic attacks on over-eating as part of athletic training (see Galen *Protrept.* 11).

[22] Athenaeus gathered these quotations from Euripides, Xenophanes and Achaeus as comments on the gluttony, uselessness and conditioning of athletes. Euripides is quoted again by Galen, *Protrepticus* 13. Two fourth-century comedies were entitled *The Pancratiast* and both dealt with eating; see Edmonds *FAC* 2: Alexis frag. 168, Theophilus frag. 8.

[23] Gardiner, *GASF*, 131-32, regards Euripides as a former victor appreciative of all manly sports, yet he uses him as evidence of decline in athletics. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 46, properly criticizes John P. Mahaffy's use of the passage to support his amateurist argument in *Old Greek Education* (New York and London, 1881), 62:

> But he is patently guilty of the most fallacious step known to literary criticism. He takes the remark of one character in one of Euripides' plays—wholly out of context—and makes of it the author's own considered and unswerving personal philosophical belief.

a satyr play wherein exaggeration, farce and burlesque would be wholly appropriate; and the speaker and the context of the diatribe are unknown.

D. F. Sutton has argued for the existence of two satyr plays by Euripides, both entitled *Autolykos*, the first perhaps based on a myth (known only through Ps. Apollodorus 2.49) in which Autolykos teaches Herakles to wrestle, and a second one concerning Autolykos' theft of Sisyphus' cattle.[24] Sutton's research on Greek satyr plays indicates that an interest in athletics was one of the traditional and generic stereotypes in that genre, and further that athletes were prominent and appropriate throughout the genre and not only in Euripides' play.[25] As Sutton notes, satyr plays by their nature were farces centering on "myth travesty" rather than vehicles of contemporary humor or social criticism.[26] In sum, the fragment from the *Autolykos* represents conventional farce, comic relief after the tragedies, rather than heartfelt criticism.

It is significant that Euripides, possibly a former wrestler, satirized athletes and then ca. 416 apparently accepted a commission to write an epinician ode on the Olympic chariot victories of Alcibiades.[27]

> σέ δ' ἄγαμαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ
> καλὸν ἁ νίκα. [τὸ] κάλλιστον δ' ὃ μηδεὶς
> ἄλλος Ἑλλάνων [ἔλαχες],
> ἅρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα βῆν-
> αί τ' ἀπονητὶ Διὸς στεφθεντ' ἐλαίᾳ
> κάρυκι βοᾶν παραδοῦναι.

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[24] D.F. Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 60: "Perhaps we should imagine a play in which a youthful Herakles has two advisors, Autolycus and someone who vigorously objects to his athletic education." Also see Sutton, "Athletics in the Greek Satyr Play," *Rivista di Studi Classici* 23 (1975): 206-207 and "The Evidence for a Ninth Euripidean Satyr Play," *Eos* 62 (1974): 49-53.

[25] See Sutton, "Athletics in the Greek Satyr Play," 203-09 or *Satyr Play*, 148-49, for the argument and a list of examples of athletic scenes in satyr plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles and others. Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 12, suggests that Pratinas' *Palaestrae* produced by his son Aristias in 467 (perhaps in a posthumous revival) dealt with a wrestling competition. Sutton, "Athletics in the Greek Satyr Play," 208-09, citing F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*[2] (Berlin 1959), nos. 108-115, gives examples of scenes on vase-paintings of satyrs engaged in athletics, some possibly based on satyr plays, as well as some sixth-century examples earlier than the institution of the satyr plays, in order to argue that the association of satyrs and athletics was highly traditional. Sutton credits this to the entertainment value of athletics and suggests a relationship to the more general tendency of the satyr play to present agonistic situations. Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 149, points out that physical caricature is in tune with the depiction of satyrs, and he suggests that athletics were an element commonly found in association with the centrally important situation of the defeat of the wayfarer-molesting ogre.

[26] Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 10: "Satyr play was rarely if ever a vehicle for the expression of opinion about contemporary events in the arts or in any other sphere, and even veiled attacks are not found."

[27] Euripides *apud* Plut. *Alcib.* 11, frag. 755 Page *PMG*; trans. C.M. Bowra, "Euripides' Epinician for Alcibiades," *Hist.* 9 (1969): 68-79. On Euripides as a possible athlete, see P87. The ode is generally accepted as an *epinikion* but there are some curious inconsistencies. Nowhere else does Euripides write *epinikia*, the placements differ from Thucydides, and the use of ἀπονιτί is contrary to the athletic ideal of toil (πόνος) and risk (κίνδυνος); see Hugh M. Lee, "Athletic Arete in Pindar," *AncW* 7 (1983): 31-37.

> I am amazed at you, son of Cleinias. Victory is a beautiful thing, but the most beautiful thing, which no other of the Hellenes has had, you have had, to be first and second and third in the chariot-race and to go without labour, crowned with the laurel of Zeus, to make the herald cry your name aloud.

Bowra suggests that Euripides in the summer of 416, still patriotic prior to the Melian massacre, composed this ode to be presented at Athens as part of Alcibiades' program of celebrations.[28] Very different contexts are involved, and consistency cannot be demanded of the artist; but still it is striking that Euripides' satyr play first condemns athletes, who like equestrian victors bring glory to Athens, and then his ode praises Alcibiades, who surpassed other Greeks through an excessive display of wealth rather than talent or endurance (note ἀπονητί).[29] However, one should note that generally in his tragedies Euripides (and other tragedians) use athletic metaphors and imagery neutrally or even positively, simply to enliven descriptions.[30]

Through his comedies Aristophanes gives important but not dispassionate testimony about athletics and physical education at Athens. Modern scholars have used the *Clouds* as proof that the young nobles of Athens were forced from gymnastic athletics into hippotrophy, which proverbially required more money than skill.[31] Aristophanes' Pheidippides is a youth so obsessed with horses that he buys, races and dreams of them.[32] Thus he impoverishes his father Strepsiades, a narrow-minded, tight-fisted rustic who regrets the expenses he met when he raised his social status through his marriage to a noble woman of the hippotrophic house of Megakles.[33]

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[28] Cf. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 70-73, who feels that Euripides opposed the old athletic ideal as well as the new athletic practice, and that the Pindaric epinician format explains Euripides' praise of Alcibiades.

[29] Miller, *Arete*, 99-101, suggests that the disreputable poet in Ar. *Aves* 905-57 (of 414), who sings in the manner of Simonides and Pindar and is bribed to go away, may be Pindar; but in light of Aristophanes' feelings about Euripides, the reference may also include Euripides' commission for Alcibiades. Cf. Arist. *Rh.* 3.2.14 (1405b), a story about Simonides being able to be 'bought' to compose an ode for a mule race. Such references should caution us that praise or censure by a professional poet may be contrived.

[30] As in the account of the deaths of Creon and Creusa, *Med.* 1136-1219 or *Bacch.* 455. As Young, *Olympic Myth*, 46 and n. 42, points out, in Eur. *Hipp.* 1016f. Hippolytus' desire to be first in the athletic games but have a secondary place in the city strongly contradicts the amateur creed; see Young, *Three Odes of Pindar* (Leiden, 1968), 18. Sophocles' *Electra* of ca. 415 includes a dramatic and moralistic chariot race in which a moderate, cautious driver—an Athenian, from the "city built by the gods," at a time when Alcibiades was still fresh in people's minds—goes on to victory. The *Larisaioi* of Sophocles (Nauck *TGF* 349) apparently involved an athletic meeting in which Perseus threw the discus; see H.A. Harris, "A Fragment from the *Larisaioi* of Sophocles," *CR* 34 (1975): 4-5.

[31] Xen. *Ages.* 9.6 and Plut. *Ages.* 20.1 recount the story of Agesilaus persuading his sister to race chariots to show the Greeks that equestrian events were more a matter of wealth than ability. Gardiner, *GASF*, 131-32 and Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 52, regard hippotrophy as a remnant of aristocratic privilege.

[32] Ar. *Nub.* 14-16, 25, 27-28, 32.

[33] Ar. *Nub.* 43-55.

Note that the habit of hippotrophy here was acquired via the family traditions and ambition of the mother. She insisted that the boy's name have "hipp-" in it, and she hopes that he will repeat the equestrian successes of his relatives.[34] Hippotrophy was nothing new for nobles. What is absurd and comic here is the combination of the aristocratic ethos and pastime with the moderation and limited means of a father unaccustomed to nobility and city life.[35] Aristophanes parodies the popularity and expense of equestrian competition, but this is not evidence of a monopolization of gymnastic events by professionals.

Aristophanes seems more upset about a decline in the standard of athletic competitions than about the developments in athletics criticized by Euripides. He contrasts intellect with exercise,[36] and the famous athletic appetite may lie behind the remark in the *Peace* that the dung beetle throws himself on his food "like a wrestler" (ὥσπερ παλαιστής).[37] A statement that the god of wealth was highly sympathetic to musical and athletic games (Πλούτῳ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο συμφορώτατον ποιεῖν ἀγῶνας μουσικοὺς καὶ γυμνικούς) has been taken as a criticism of professionalism but is more likely a satirical comment on embezzlement and the civic festival program.[38] Contrasting the old and new generations, Aristophanes presents the Old Acharnian reminiscing about running against the famous Phayllos, while Philocleon boasts about overhauling the athlete in court.[39] The comedies suggest that festivals no longer could be conducted properly; the pyrrhic chorus was inadequate in Aristophanes' eyes.[40] He claims that the Athenians were too untrained to run the torch race respectably and he depicts an unfit youth abused by the crowds to the point where he breaks wind and extinguishes his torch.[41] Aristophanes prefers the "good old days."

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[34] Ar. *Nub.* 63-64, 69-70.

[35] In Aristophanes the opposition between nobles and commoners parallels the antagonism between the old and young generations; Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 50-51, 98-99.

[36] Ar. *Nub.* 417.

[37] Ar. *Pax* 33-35. Like other authors, Aristophanes also used athletic metaphors neutrally: *Av.* 1121, a messenger enters like an Olympic runner; *Eq.* 261-63 and 490ff., an analogy between political tactics and wrestling; *Vesp.* 1203, 1212-13. For athletic (especially wrestling) metaphors, such as μέσον ἔχειν, in Aristophanes, see M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports* (Meisenheim, 1982), 41-41, 45-46 and index.

[38] Ar. *Plut.* 1161f: see Gardiner, *GASF*, 129; Woody, "Professionalism," 524. Aristophanes was critical of the number of Athenian festivals; *Eq.* 528, 1037; *Pax* 1036.

[39] Ar. *Ach.* 215 and Schol. See Rogers' commentary, and cf. *Vesp.* 1205-07. While most critics juxtapose the worth of athletes with contemporary models of intellectual or military virtue, Aristophanes, by juxtaposing the athletic past and present, adds to the *topoi* of dissent the idea of 'decline' cherished by exponents of the traditional schema of Greek athletics; his criticisms have a chronological framework while most criticisms are atemporal.

[40] The Just Logos says that the effete Athenian youths cover themselves with their shields and perform the dance improperly; *Nub.* 988-89.

[41] Ar. *Ran.* 1087-88, 1089-98. Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 256, explains that runners who came last in the torch race were thrashed; originally an old rite, it had lost its meaning and become crude popular fun.

Seldom advocating change or welcoming the future, Aristophanes in the *Clouds* laments the influence of the Sophists on the physical lifestyle of the young. He stages a debate between the Old and the New Education represented by the Just and the Unjust Logos.[42] An exaggerated antithesis is offered between the old lifestyle of the Academy and the new lifestyle of the Agora : youths should spend their time exercising and competing with friends in the open air of the Academy rather than going downtown to learn the life of speeches and the courts.[43] The Just Logos extols the physical benefits of the Old Education : it produces robust, sound bodies while the products of the New Education are pale, poor specimens.[44] In vain Aristophanes wishes men would spurn the new ideas in education, which he claims promote poor fitness, immorality and over-proficiency in debate.

Aristophanes blames Socrates and Euripides for misleading the youth from the conservative habits of his ideal citizens, the *Marathonomachai*. His plays claim men no longer appreciate the virtues of the elder generation who were trained in sports, dance and music (τραφέντας ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ); men now prefer the baths and oil to physical exertion.[45] He charges that Socrates' pupils were expected to give up gymnastics,[46] and that Euripides taught the Athenians to babble and chatter, thus "emptying the *palaestrae* and wearing away their rumps" (ἢ 'ξεκένωσεν τάς τε παλαίστρας καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψε). Yet even as he claims that the *palaestrae* are empty, Aristophanes criticizes men who haunt these places seeking boys for pederasty.[48] As a conservative and an artist seeking comic effect, then,

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[42] The Old Education, encouraging morality and patriotism, was a natural product of the *polis*, meeting its demands for physical and moral training. Influenced by the Sophists, the New Education focused on politics and oratory and sought personal advantage and enjoyment; see Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 292-94.

[43] Ar. *Nub.* 1002-08; see above, p. 74f.

[44] Ar. *Nub.* 1009-17. Cedric H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 124-27, discusses the theme of the conflict of the generations in the *Clouds*, explaining that the themes of old and new—like country and city—are presented as antithetical to the point of absurdity.

[45] Ar. *Ran.* 729; on baths, see above, pp. 70-71. Ar. *Eq.* 571-73 uses a wrestling metaphor to lament the decline of Athens' fighting spirit : before when men fell to their shoulders, they wiped of the dust, denied they had been thrown, and continued to wrestle.

[46] Ar. *Nub.* 417; cf. *Nub.* 177-79, where Socrates, as often in a gymnastic setting, steals a cloak from a *palaestra*.

[47] Ar. *Ran.* 1069-70; see also *Nub.* 1053-54. *Nub.* 973-74 praises the former modesty of boys at the trainers. Similarly, Ps. Andoc. *Against Alcibiades* 39 says that Alcibiades was a leader in new trends and καταλύει τὰ γυμνάσια.

[48] Comedy depicted pederasty as characteristic of the nobles, a practice closely connected with the world of the *palaestra*; see *Ar. Av.* 139-42; *Nub.* 417, 991. Aristophanes declares (*Vesp.* 1023-25; *Pax* 762-63) that despite his own success in comedy he did not go about the *palaestrae* making advances to boys. On the motif in Aristophanes, see Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 100-02; or more generally Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 138. Nudity and exercise would make the *palaestra* an appropriate place for homosexual encounters (as depicted on *ARV*[2] 1567 and 1698), but not if the *palaestrae* were empty and the youths were in the Agora.

Aristophanes has to be used with caution as evidence for Athenian athletics and physical education.[49]

Venerable but hardly unbiased, the Old Oligarch, as well as censuring the democracy's expansion and enjoyment of athletic facilities,[50] charges that the *demos* has destroyed physical education and culture at Athens.

> Τοὺς δὲ γυμναζομένους αὐτόθι καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καταλέλυκεν ὁ δῆμος, νομίζων τοῦτο οὐ καλὸν εἶναι, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ δυνατὸς ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐπιτηδεύειν.
>
> The *demos* has put down the teachers of gymnastics and music, deeming them not to be good, upon perceiving that it was not possible for themselves to learn these things.[51]

He further complains that the masses support the festival and liturgical programs of imperial Athens because the rich pay the bills while the poor receive money for their popular but less demanding participation.

> ἀξιοῖ οὖν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ᾄδων καὶ τρέχων καὶ ὀρχούμενος καὶ πλέων ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἵνα αὐτός τε ἔχῃ καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι πενέστεροι γίγνωνται.
>
> The people expect to get money for singing, running, dancing and sailing on the ships, in order that they may have money and the wealthy become poorer.[52]

Pericles' defence of the diversity of the Athenian lifestyle, rather than the narrow physical training of the Spartans, may represent the democratic response to such criticisms.[53] Like Aristophanes, the Old Oligarch complains that physical education was decreasing even as the festival program and athletic facilities grew.[54] Both authors suggest that the physical aspects of Athenian education were becoming less predominant, but both also tend to be hyperbolic. Furthermore, the Old Oligarch shows that most Athenians favored the athletic life of the city.

Negative comments on athletics also come from Attic oratory. Most notably, Isocrates made a forceful, but hardly original, criticism of the granting of honors for athletes, whose physical virtues are transitory, rather than for intellectuals, who offer lasting gifts.

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[49] The original production of the *Clouds* in 423 came third and last at the Dionysia. A revised version of the play was widely read but never performed on stage; see C.H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, 120-24, 133-37.

[50] See above, p. 68.

[51] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.13. J.M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy*, 49, points out that the opening sentence cannot be taken as a statement that there was a legislative ban on physical exercise and the pursuit of culture. Rather the author must be using καταλέλυκεν in the metaphorical sense of bringing such pursuits into disrepute. H. Frisch, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 212-14, demonstrates how conservative circles at Athens cherished the view that democracy neglected physical training.

[52] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.13.

[53] Thuc. 2.39.1.

[54] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.10; 3.2,4,8.

... θαυμάζω δ' ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων μειζόνων δωρεῶν ἀξιοῦσι τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι κατορθοῦντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ τι τῶν χρησίμων εὑρίσκοντας ....

I marvel at how many cities deem those succeeding in the athletic contests worthy of greater gifts than those who by thoughfulness and industry discover something useful ....[55]

The *Panegyricus* opens with a similar rejection of the popular veneration of athletes as above men of the mind,[56] yet Isocrates later in the same piece supports athletic games as a reminder of Greek cultural unity.

... καὶ μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν, ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκα πονοῦντας, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν ἥκουσι ....

... and no one passes the time unenthusiastically but each receives that which flatters them, the spectators when they see the athletes working hard for them, and the athletes when they consider that everyone has come to watch them.[57]

Since it suits his Panhellenic argument, Isocrates defends the agonistic traditions of Greece. According to his speeches, as long as men know their place,[58] athletics could be beneficial but still not as worthwhile as the contributions of art and philosophy. Like Euripides earlier, Isocrates can draw on athletic *topoi* for rhetorical effect.[59]

Son of a wealthy father, and educated by critics of Athenian democracy and

[55] Isocrates (*To the Rulers of Mytilene*) Letter 8.5 of ca. 350. In his *Antidosis*, Isocrates had made a similar attack on undue rewards for men of strength. He expressed astonishment that training in gymnastics was more acclaimed that the study of philosophy, and contended (15.250) that Athens had become famous through wisdom rather than physical excellence. Isocrates accepted moderate gymnastics as part of a broad program of education but held that the body must be the servant of the mind; see Marrou, *Education*, 119-36.

[56] Isoc. *Paneg.* 50.1-2 echoes the *topos* that rewards are given for bodily excellence while men of the mind, who toil for the common good, gain no recognition.

[57] Isoc. *Paneg.* 50.43-44. Lysias *Olympic Oration* 33.1-2 similarly praises the early Olympic Games as a unifying factor. Isoc. 50.45-46 goes on to praise the varied games and great prizes at Athens (but. cf. Isoc. 7.53).

[58] Isoc. *Areo.* 7.45 glorifies the early aristocratic age of Athens when a man's occupation was determined by his social origins: the poor kept to farming and trade while men of means could pursue hippotrophy, sport and philosophy.

[59] Isocrates' comments were unoriginal and rhetorical. It was the talent of a rhetor to make the best case he could for himself or his client depending on the situation. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 51, says that the Athenians are the only Greeks who know how to honor valiant men since they erect statues of generals and slayers of tyrants in their agora, rather than statues of victors of contests. However, in speeches by Demosthenes (*Against Theocrines* 58.66) and Aeschines (*On the Embassy* 2.147), athletic experiences of members of families are cited as positive factors and indicators of the worth of individuals under discussion (also see *Lept.* 20.141). Aeschines says that an athlete can be recognized by bodily fitness (εὐεξία) even outside the gymnasium (*In Tim.* 1.189); and in *On the Crown* (3.179-80) he praises Olympic success as demanding but rewarding. Elsewhere he criticizes Demosthenes for having avoided physical training and hunting in his youth (3.255).

empire, Isocrates may have been a horseman in his youth;[60] and his works suggest more sympathy for hippotrophy than for gymnastic competition. He composed a speech for the son of Alcibiades who was being sued concerning Alcibiades' theft of a team of horses in 416.[61] The younger Alcibiades praises the career of his father, including his famous chariot-racing. He contends that Alcibiades saw that an Olympic victory brought fame to the city of the victor, and that, while public service at Athens brought prestige locally to a citizen, expenditure and victory at Olympia spread the fame of a man and his city throughout all Greece.[62]

The younger Alcibiades continues:

> ταῦτα διανοηθείς, οὐδενὸς ἀφυέστερος οὐδ' ἀρρωστότερος τῷ σώματι γενόμενος τοὺς μὲν γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπερεῖδεν, εἰδὼς ἐνίους τῶν ἀθλητῶν καὶ κακῶς γεγονότας καὶ μικρὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντας καὶ ταπεινῶς πεπαιδευμένους, ἱπποτροφεῖν δ' ἐπιχειρήσας, ὃ τῶν εὐδαιμονεστάτων ἔργον ἐστί, φαῦλος δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ποιήσειεν ....
>
> ... reflecting upon these things, I say, although in natural gifts and in strength of body he was inferior to none, he disdained the gymnastic contests, for he knew that some of the athletes were of low birth, inhabitants of petty states, and of mean education, but turned to the breeding of racehorses, which is possible only for those most blest by Fortune and not to be pursued by one of low esteem ....[63]

The passage suggests that Alcibiades withdrew into hippotrophy because of an influx of undesirable and unworthy competitors in gymnasic events. While it is possible that *some* competitors came from backgrounds or states that the aristocratic Alcibiades would belittle,[64] the remark in Isocrates' speech should not be accepted at face value.[65]

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[60] See P98; like Aristophanes, Isocrates criticized the moral laxity of Athenian youths (15.287).

[61] On the incident, see A63. On speeches concerning Alcibiades, see Robin Seager, "Alcibiades and the Charge of Aiming at Tyranny," *Hist.* 16 (1967): 6-18.

[62] Isoc. (*De Biga*) 16.33.

[63] Isoc. 16.33, trans. L. Van Hook.

[64] With his background, education and egotism, Alcibiades could look down on almost anyone, including his fellow citizens. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72-73, stresses the "some" (ἐνίους), arguing that *most* participants still came from the upper classes, and that lower class athletes may have been a "recent phenomenon" in Alcibiades' lifetime. Cf. David C. Young, "Professionalism in Greek Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983): 50 and *Olympic Myth*, 100-03, who asserts that non-nobles competed successfully as athletes from the earliest games and that the main point is the gymnastic/equestrian contrast. Koroibos, Olympic champion of 776 (Moretti, *Olym.*, no. 1; Ath. 9.382b) was a "cook" (μάγειρος); and Glaukos, Olympic victor in 520 (Moretti, *Olym.*, no. 134; Paus. 6.10.1; Philostr. *Gym.* 20) was a ploughman on his father's farm. Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 43-47, attempting to cast all early athletes as aristocrats, sees Koroibos as a priest and Glaukos as a rich landowner. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 99, 147-157, undermines the idea of athletic exclusiveness by making cases against some athletes as nobles (Theogenes, Milo, Astylos) and for others as non-nobles (Koroibos, Glaukos, Polymnestor, Amesinas). For a possibly non-noble athlete in Homer, see R.L. Howland, "Epeius, Carpenter and Athlete," *PCPS* 183 (1954-55): 15-16. An epigram in Arist. *Rh.*, 1.7.32 (1365a), possibly by Simonides (Bergk *PLG* frag. 163), refers to a fish porter as an example of a man of low birth rising to fame in that his Olympic

It is essential to remember that this was a forensic speech in which the son tried to justify the hippotrophy that led Alcibiades into conflict with Teisias.[66] In a commissioned, rhetorical piece, Alcibiades' possible disdain of his potential gymnastic competitors makes a very convenient rationalization. Without evidence and in the same breath, the son asserts the gymnastic prowess of the father and excuses the choice of hippotrophy. Whatever the background of athletes at Olympia at the time, the advance of training meant that hippotrophy was a shorter route to victory if one had the means. Despite Isocrates, chariot-racing was the obvious choice for Alcibiades, not something he was forced to pursue.

References to athletics in Greek philosophical works are numerous. Possibly a former athlete,[67] Plato frequently used athletic analogies and examples which perhaps were drawn from his own experience and certainly were comprehensible to his audience.[68] He was critical of contemporary athletic training and rejected it for the Guardians as an unhealthy lifestyle.[69]

> 'Αλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὑπνώδης αὕτη γέ τις καὶ σφαλερὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καθεύδουσί τε τὸν βίον καί, ἐὰν σμικρὰ ἐκβῶσιν τῆς τεταγμένης διαίτης, μεγάλα καὶ σφόδρα νοσοῦσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἀσκηταί;
>
> Nay, said I, that is a drowsy habit and precarious for health. Don't you observe that they sleep away their lives, and that if they depart ever so little from their prescribed regimen these athletes are liable to great and violent diseases?[70]

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win was beyond what was expected from him and beyond his equals. These characterizations of victors are far from reliable; it seems reasonable that most early victors were nobles. If a few non-nobles of exceptional natural talent did win they might be remembered as unusual victors.

[65] Thucydides' version of Alcibiades' argument in 416 (6.16.1-2) that his hippotrophic success should earn him political support makes no reference to the background of athletes. If this was a major point Thucydides probably would have included it. Matthew Dickie, "Phaeacian Athletes," in F. Cairns, ed., *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar, Fourth Volume, 1983* (Liverpool, 1984), n. 36 on p. 273, urges caution in handling Isoc. 16.33:

> This is the sort of thing that the grandees who entered the chariot race will always have said. A variation on the topos is to be found at [Dem.] 61,23 and at Plut. *Alex.* 4, *Mor.* 179d, 331b (Alexander's refusal to compete in the στάδιον at Olympia because he would not have been competing against other kings).

[66] Rhetoricians were not consistent on hippotrophy. Although Isocrates (and Alcibiades) defended the practice, Ps. Andocides, *Against Alcibiades* 4, gives a very negative version of Alcibiades' motives and actions. Lysias (19.63) and Hyperides (1.16) may argue that hippotrophy was part of the demonstration of a man as being of good character; but Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 138) contends that hippotrophy was a matter of personal ambition and should not be a consideration in court (likewise see Dem. 18.320). He presents hippotrophy and the staging of choruses as mere indicators of wealth, and not as a public service like a trierarchy.

[67] See P107.

[68] Plato compares a boxer's preparation for competition to men's preparations for war (*Leg.* 8.830b); a sophist is an "athlete in debate" (*Soph.* 231e); the Guardians are "athletes in the greatest of contests" (*Resp.* 3.403e); statesmen are like charioteers (*Grg.* 516e); rhetoric and athletics are competitive arts to be used properly (*Grg.* 456d-457b). Other examples include *Resp.* 10.613b-c; *Tht.* 148c; *Prt.* 335e; *Phd.* 254e.

[69] Pl. *Resp.* 3.403-04, 410-12, 42, 5.452-57.

[70] Pl. *Resp.* 3.404a; trans. Paul Shorey.

He felt that the excessive care of the body that went beyond simple gymnastics was an obstacle to the practice of virtue.[71] The Guardians were to exercise to promote the spirited side of their nature, unlike contemporary athletes who pursue diet and exercise for the sake of strength (ῥώμης ἕνεκα σιτία καὶ πόνους μεταχειριεῖται).[72] However, athletic training was only one of the many things Plato regarded as unsuitable for a perfect state, and he did not speak for all or even most Athenians.

In the tradition of Xenophanes, Plato and Socrates also censured the rewards given to athletes. In the *Apology* Socrates compares his worth to that of a victor and suggests a sentence for himself as a poor man and a moral benefactor of the city. Such a man deserves *sitesis* at the Prytaneion much more than a victor in the Olympic horse, *synoris* or chariot race. "The victor makes you seem fortunate but I make you become so; he does not need support but I do (ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέομαι).[73] The court was unmoved by Socrates' contention that he deserved and needed *sitesis* more than victors, but Plato agreed with rewarding just and moral men more than athletes. His ideal state would have rewards for athletes transferred and increased for his Guardians because of their services to the state. They were to "live a life happier than the life deemed most happy by others, the life of the victors at Olympia."[74] Plato disagreed with Socrates' jurors but such men represented general opinions about athletic rewards.

Plato's criticism of athletes is obviously related to his ideas on *paideia* and the just man.[75] As a theorist Plato sought justice and harmony, in *man* through education, and in the *city* through politics. His educational ideal was the harmonious perfection of body and soul.[76] Music, the education of the soul, had to be complemented by gymnastics, the education of the body.[77] Since a healthy body and a healthy mind went together, Plato was

[71] Pl. *Resp.* 3.407b, 7.535d.

[72] Pl. *Resp.* 3.410b.

[73] Pl. *Ap.* 36d-e.

[74] Pl. *Resp.* 5.465d. In the Myth of Er (10.620b) Atalanta chooses the life of an athlete because of its great honors.

[75] In general, see Marrou, *Education*, 95-118; Forbes, *GPE*, 97-105; Popplow, *Leibesübungen*, 132-37; Eckhard Meinberg, "Gymnastische Erziehung in der Platonische Paideia, Versuch einer zeitgemässen Betrachtung," *Stadion* 1 (1975): 228-66 (with bibliography). Daniel A. Dombrowski, "Plato and Athletics," *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 6 (Fall 1979): 20-38, contends that Plato neither ignored nor denigrated athletics. For example (31), in *Phdr.* 248d-e athletics are given intermediate status among several nobler and baser activities.

[76] Pl. *Ti.* 88b-c says neither to exercise the soul without the body nor the body without the soul, so that they may be evenly matched and healthy; cf. *Resp.* 3.403; *Leg.* 5.728e. While Aristophanes wanted a return to a physically-oriented education, Plato and Socrates advocated moderation. As Dombrowski, "Plato and Athletics," 30, points out, Plato saw serious intellectual study as much more demanding than serious gymnastics: *Resp.* 441e, 535b; *Tht.* 162b, 169b; *Prm.* 135c.

[77] Pl. *Resp.* 3.411e-412a; *Leg.* 7.795; *Grg.* 464b-465d. The body contained two evil states,

in favor of moderate physical education;[78] but on principle he had to be critical of contemporary athletics as uneducational and impractical for the good of the individual and the city.[79]

Although critical, Plato recognized the traditional and popular appeal of athletics and his utopia was to have athletic facilities, trainers and athletic games.[80] However, all these would be adapted to a system of military gymnastics for the good of the individual and the state. For the individual, training was not to be excessive and it was to be militarily practical; for the state, athletics were to be a preparation for war.[81] There were to be twelve festivals with musical and gymnastic games; but non-military events were to be abolished, and only warlike events like races in armor should be held.[82] Acknowledging the tradition and importance of prizes, Plato held that prizes, and also censures, were to be given for his contests.[83] The Guardians, the "athletes of war," were to differ from contemporary citizens, and the extent and nature of their athletic activity was a major area of difference.[84]

Beyond criticisms, the Platonic corpus provides valuable historical insights.

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disease and ugliness, the concerns of medicine and gymnastics respectively; Pl. *Soph.* 228e-229a; *Grg.* 517e-518a.

[78] Pl. *Tht.* 153b; *Prt.* 326b-c; Jaeger, *Paideia*, 2: 230-33. The opinions of Socrates as recounted by Xenophon are similar to those credited to him by Plato. Xenophon says Socrates favored the harmony of body and mind, and advised bodily health via exercise to promote mental health. One should develop one's natural bodily strength and beauty (*Mem.* 3.12.5,8; 4.4.23). However, Xenophon's Socrates also condemns excess and over-development (*Symp.* 2.17-18), disapproving of the life of the athlete in training as incompatible with the cultivation of the soul (*Mem.* 1.2.4).

[79] According to Plato, *paideia* was "that training in virtue from childhood which makes a man eager to become a full-fledged citizen, knowing both how to rule justly and how to obey" (*Leg.* 1.643e). By contrast, "any training (*trophe*) which aims at wealth or strength or any other accomplishment unattended by wisdom and justice is vulgar, illiberal and utterly unworthy to be called *paideia*" (*Leg.* 1.644a); Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City*, 297.

[80] Plato was critical of medical gymnastics (*Resp.* 3.407b), but his ideal state would have teachers of gymnastics. These would be paid experts (*Leg.* 7.813c) and necessarily foreigners or non-citizens (804d), acting under the supervision of the Director of Education (813b-c). Their main function would be to teach military skills such as the use of weapons. For Plato on ideal athletic facilities, see *Leg.* 6.761c.

[81] Pl. *Leg.* 7.813d-e, 828-31, 794c, 796a, 814d; 8.830d-831a, 832d-834d. Even the children's exercises were to be warlike; *Lach.* 179e-180a; *Euthyd.* 271c-d.

[82] Pl. *Leg.* 8.828c, 829b.

[83] Pl. *Leg.* 8.829b-c. He even prescribes punishments for any man who prevents another from competing (*Leg.* 12.955a-b).

[84] Pl. *Resp.* 3.404b. In Xenophon, Socrates is critical of a youth with an untrained body who is thus unready to serve his city adequately in war (*Mem.* 3.12.1-8). When the younger Pericles is critical of Athenian physical fitness and suggests that they should aspire to the physical excellence of Sparta, Socrates, however, praises the obedience of the Athenians (*Mem.* 3.5.13,15). Xenophon himself agrees with a practical attitude to sports and war; he says a hipparch should discourage expensive and unpractical horse-buying among cavalry recruits (*Hipp.* 1.11-12). Xenophon compares athletic preparations to the cavalry preparing for war; he decides that, since it is more glorious to win in war than in a boxing match, men should practice the art of war above all (*Hipp.* 8.5-7).

The dialogues and Socrates are often set in gymnasia or *palaestrae*, and these facilities are not empty.[85] In fact Socrates retires to a quiet corner of a *palaestra* which is "newly built," showing that there was still a demand for places of exercise.[86] The youths in the athletic facilities have wealth, leisure and respectability;[87] they are not commoners and they actively exercise before turning to discussion.[88] Plato writes that the city is said to ring with the praises of the hippotrophic family of Lysis.[89] Given his theories on the human condition and the value of citizens to the city, Plato had to criticize athletes both for their training and their rewards. However, his criticisms, analogies and his dialogues overall suggest that athletics and physical education were not as unpopular, nor in such a state of decay, as Aristophanes and the Old Oligarch claim.[90]

Aristotle also criticized contemporary athletics but he commented only on training and not on rewards.[91] He favored moderation because "... the condition of athletes is not useful for the good condition of a citizen, nor for health and breeding children (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀθλητῶν χρήσιμος ἕξις πρὸς πολιτικὴν εὐεξίαν οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ τεκνοποιίαν)."[92] Athletic training simply was too excessive and specialized. Critical of excessive eating leading to over-development,[93] Aristotle especially disapproved of the negative effects of training on the young.[94] He claims training hurts the growth and form of the body, and as proof he points to the rarity of Olympic boy victors who repeat their success as adults.[95]

Aristotle's views on athleticism stem from his theory of education, in which he advocated the whole man as the end of education and the golden mean as the directing principle. He considered gymnastics a science which endeavored to learn what exercises were best suited to each body according to strength,

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[85] For example, *Chrm.* 153a; *Euthyd.* 271a; *Lys.* 203a-204b; on Socrates as a frequenter of the Lyceum: *Euthphr.* 2a; *Symp.* 223d.

[86] Pl. *Lys.* 207a-b.

[87] The youths who attached themselves to Socrates were "young men with wealthy fathers and plenty of leisure" (Pl. *Ap.* 23c). Some youths in the dialogues were historical individuals from good families, such as Theaitetos (P90).

[88] Pl. *Tht.* 144c.

[89] Pl. *Lys.* 205c; see A42.

[90] It is interesting that Xenophon's Socrates (*Symp.* 1.8-9) praises the young pancratiast Autolykos who had endured much suffering to be victorious; he was not soft or effeminate but demonstrated strength and endurance, manliness and humility.

[91] Aristotle was a metic but his comments reflect the Athenian situation and complement Plato's views. See J.E. Chryssafis, "Aristotle on Physical Education," *Journal of Health and Physical Education* 7 (1930): 3-19; Forbes, *GPE*, 105-08.

[92] Arist. *Pol.* 7.16.12-13 (1335b). Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 74-87, feels Aristotle expresses a class bias against supposedly lower class athletes.

[93] Arist. *Gen. An.* 4.3.30 (768b); cf. *Eth. Nic.* 2.6.7 (1106b). He censures medical gymnastics in *Rh.* 1.5.10 (1361b).

[94] Arist. *Pol.* 8.4.1 (1338b), with Sparta as a ready example.

[95] Arist. *Pol.* 8.4.8 (1338b-1339a).

age and sex.[96] Education of the body was to precede education of the mind,[97] but the fundamental principle in gymnastics, as in life, was to be moderation: temperate exercise rather than excessive or insufficient training.[98]

Not always critical, Aristotle discussed bodily and competitive *arete* in the *Rhetoric*. In a detached, analytical fashion, he points out factors in success and notes varieties of bodies, inclinations and events.[99] Bodily excellence in athletics is said to consist of size, strength and swiftness of foot. Runners, wrestlers, boxers and pancratiasts excel in appropriate aspects, and pen-athletes, the most beautiful of all (οἱ πένταθλοι κάλλιστοι) excel in all areas. In another work, Aristotle commends the courage of boxers who endure blows and labors for the goal of a crown and honors.[100] As a matter of philosophical principle, Aristotle criticized over-training and over-development as immoderate; but he also studied athletics as a familiar type of activity.[101] Perhaps he realized better than Plato how little effect intellectual denunciations were likely to have on the course of athletics.

At Athens, then, literary conventions, exaggeration, ulterior motives, and philosophies all influenced criticisms of the state of athletics and physical education. Since most opposition was concerned with training and specialization in athletics, or with the tradition of rewards for victors, the following discusses first training and known Athenian trainers, and then some independent evidence of athletic rewards. The intention and effect of such rewards lead into the controversial issue of professionalism.

Criticisms

a) Trainers and Training

As a general term "trainer" is applied to both *paidotribai* and *gymnastai.*[102] Usually a παιδοτρίβης was a wrestling school teacher with his own *palaestra*

[96] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.3.8 (1112b); *Pol.* 4.1.1 (1285b).

[97] Arist. *Pol.* 8.3.13 (1338b). Mental health and bodily processes influence each other; Ps. Arist. *Phgn.* 805a.

[98] Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 2.3.1 (1220b).

[99] Arist. *Rh.* 1.5.10-14 (1361b).

[100] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.9.3 (1117b). For analogies between footraces and styles of speaking, see *Rh.* 3.9.2 (1409a) and 3.9.6 (1409b); H.A. Harris, "A Simile in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (iii.9.6)," *CR* 24 (1974): 4-5.

[101] Discussing *eunoia* as an element of friendly feeling which can be spontaneous, Aristotle says *eunoia* exists concerning competitors in a contest (*Eth. Nic.* 9.5.2 (1166b-1167a)) between the spectators and the competitors.

[102] Scholarship on this topic has been greatly influenced by the *Gymnasticus* of Philostratus (of the second century after Christ), a work critical of contemporary training practices, urging a return to earlier methods. See Jüthner, *Philostratos*. On the terminology: Forbes, *GPE*, 67-70; Harris, *GAA*, 170-178; Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 83-97. Another term, ἀλείπτης, originally referred to an annointer associated with *palaestrae*, whose duties came to include massage and assisting the *gymnastes*.

where he instructed boys in basic gymnastics and also where athletes trained.[103] A γυμναστής was a more specialized trainer, hired to prepare an athlete for competition, supervising his exercises and diet.[104] The distinction between these two arose in practice in the fifth century and was established in terminology by the fourth: the paidotribe became more of a preliminary physical trainer, and the *gymnastes* arose as the "coach" or athletic expert.[105]

The earliest athletes were "natural" or self-trained, relying simply on practical expertise; but, with the popularity of athletics in the sixth century, former athletes began to "train" others. The earliest trainers, in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, were usually former boxers or wrestlers who shared their skills and encouraged a healthy lifestyle.[106] By the fifth century it seems to have become normal for every aspiring athlete to have a trainer, and several times Pindar ascribes the success of victors in heavy events to the excellence of their trainers.[107] Plato says Athens had many instructional groups of would-be athletes (φιλονικίας ἕνεκα), classes which followed generalized commands suited to the average physique.[108] However, on an advanced level—or if one was wealthy enough—individualized instruction was common.[109]

Many references to training are critical and concern the trainer's care of the athlete's fitness, especially his diet. Specialization on specific events led to the production of different physical types, and within these types excessive training led to over-development.[110] By the fourth century the discipline of training had been systematized into a *techne*,[111] and a quasi-science of "medical gymnastics" had evolved and received criticism.[112] Despite the criticism, the preparation and technique needed to become a successful athlete or trainer became more and more involved and complex.

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[103] Pl. *Prt.* 326b; *Grg.* 452b; Aeschin. (*In Tim.*) 1.10.

[104] Gal. *de San. Tuend.* 2.9.25.

[105] Arist. *Pol.* 8.3.13 (1338b); Philostr. *Gym.* 14. Gal. *Thras.* 33 dates the rise of the technique of the *gymnastes* to a little before Plato's time.

[106] Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 93; Gardiner, *GASF*, 101; on trainers in vase-paintings from the first half of the sixth century, see Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 196. Tisias, who coached Glaukos of Karystos to an Olympic win in 520, is the earliest trainer known by name (Paus. 6.10.1; Moretti, *Olym.*, no. 134).

[107] Pind. *Ol.* 8.53; *Nem.* 4.93; 5.47; *Isth.* 4.71.

[108] Pl. *Statesman* 294d-e. Isocrates, *Antidosis* 15.183, says that *paidotribai* taught their pupils the moves (σχήματα) that had been found by experience to be useful in competition.

[109] Note that Thucydides hired two trainers for his two sons (Pl. *Meno* 94c).

[110] Xen. *Mem.* 3.10.5; *Symp.* 2.17. Over-development and bodily specialization are noted in art by Gardiner, *GASF*, 122-124 and Hyde, *OVM*, 147-48. Although the ideal seems to have remained the symmetrically and harmoniously developed individual—the youthful pentathlete (Arist. *Rh.* 1.5.11 (1361b)), athletes increasingly were depicted as musclebound and overfed.

[111] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.3.8 (1112b); Pl. *Grg.* 457a, 517e.

[112] Pl. *Leg.* 804a; *Resp.* 3.406a-b; *Prt.* 316d; Gardiner, *GASF*, 129-30; Jüthner, *Philostratus*, 9-16.

To a certain extent the activities of athletics and physical education overlapped but the degree of involvement and specialization differed. Probably both activities were pursued by similar persons, those with the appropriate resources and inclination. The choice of a paidotribe was a serious matter; physical training and education were obtained by those able to do so, and μάλιστα δὲ δύνανται οἱ πλουσιώτατοι.[113] Perhaps, of the children undergoing physical education, those who showed promise might consider increasing their involvement with a view to advanced competition. Aristotle comments that the *paidotribes* and the *gymnastes* had to conduct training according to the wishes of their clients; some simply wanted fitness while others wanted to prepare for competition.[114] With the rise of specialized training competitive athletics and basic physical education increasingly diverged in emphasis. In the era of the "educational revolution" of ca. 450-350 the preeminence of physical education in the traditional educational practice of Athens lost ground to the study of letters.[115] Physical education did lose some of its prestige, and athletics were attacked, but both activities continued.

A look at historical individuals known to have been trainers in various respects—either in Athens or Athenians abroad—illustrates the development of training. Odes by Bacchylides and Pindar of the 480s both comment on an Aeginetan pancratiast's Athenian trainer, Menander. Pindar feels it is appropriate that a fashioner of athletes should come from Athens (χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν).[116] Rather than *paidotribes* or *gymnastes*, Menander is called *tekton*, a craftsman, carpenter or master of an art. Bacchylides praises Athens as responsible for many Panhellenic victories and refers simply to the aiding care of Menander (μελέταν τε βροτωφελέα Μενάνδρου).[117] The most famous Athenian trainer was Melesias, who also coached Aeginetan heavy athletes. Pindar's *Olympian VIII* refers to the κῦδος of Melesias gained ἐξ ἀγενείων since this was the thirtieth victory gained with his instruction.[118] Melesias was a former victor himself, and Pindar comments that teaching is easier for someone who has personal

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[113] Pl. *Prt.* 313a, 326b-c.

[114] Arist. *Pol.* 4.1.1-2 (1288b). Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 72-73, points to the influence of the *ephebeia* in the Hellenistic age as a bridge for the members of the urban élite between gymnasium sport and the world of the public contests.

[115] On the changing role of gymnastics in education: Marrou, *Education*, 63-75, 183-86; Popplow, *Leibesübungen*, 127-37; Forbes, *GPE*, 54-92.

[116] Pind. *Nem.* 5.48-49; see P103. Wade-Gery, *EGH*, 254 n. 4, feels this is also an indirect reference to the Athenian Melesias, presumably active as a coach in the 480s.

[117] Bacchyl. 12.190-98. Richard C. Jebb, ed., *Bacchylides, The Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge, 1905), 212-17, notes that Athens and Aegina were unfriendly at the time. M. Woloch, "Athenian Trainers in the Aeginetan Odes of Bacchylides," *CW* 56 (1963): 102-04, 121, suggests that the boy's father Lampon may have requested that the poets mention Menander.

[118] Pind. *Ol.* 8.54,66.

knowledge.[119] In another Pindaric ode Melesias is figuratively referred to as an ἀνίοχος (= ἡνίοχος), a driver or one who guides or controls.[120] Father of the prominent politician Thucydides, Melesias shows that trainers could be highly respected elements of society at this time.[121]

The next trainers appear in a positive light ca. 450 as athletes imparting their wrestling skills to youths. Plato says that Thucydides Melesiou gave his two sons an excellent education by giving them over to Xanthias and Eudoros, "men regarded as the finest wrestlers of their time."[122] Other Athenian trainers probably were *paidotribai* but they appear in the sources simply as "owners of *palaestrae*."[123] Apparently Alcibiades killed an attendant in the *palaestra* of Sibyrtios;[124] this Sibyrtios could well be Kirchner's *PA* 12646, *epistates* in 411/0 and father of Kleisthenes Sibyrtiou known as a sycophant ca. 400.[125] Similarly, Plato presents Socrates en route to the *palaestra* of Taureas,[126] a man Davies would identify with the Taureas Leagorou I assaulted by Alcibiades when competing with him as a *choregos* between 430 and 415.[127] Both Sibyrtios and Taureas seem to have been men of means and public affairs in the fifth century.

By the fourth century the discipline of training was well developed, and Aeschines in 346/5 refers to Eupolemos, "the paidotribe," the deceased uncle of the defendant Timarchus. The estates of this family had included property and mining workshops in the lifetime of the father of Eupolemos.[128] Isocrates is said to have died in 338/7 at Athens in the *palaestra* of a certain

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[119] Pind. *Ol.* 8.55-59, 59-60. The former victor, Pytheas of Aegina, instructed his brother Phylacidas (Pind. *Isthm.* 5.59-61).

[120] Pind. *Nem.* 6.66-69; Farnell, *Pindar*, 281-88; cf. *Isthm.* 4.71. In *Nem.* 4.93-96 Pindar praises Melesias and draws an analogy between wrestling and poetry.

[121] Wade-Gery identified Melesias as the aristocratic father of Thucydides; see "Thucydides, Son of Melesias," *JHS* 52 (1932): 205-27 and Davies, *APF*, 9812. Woloch, "Athenian Trainers," 103-04, 121, feels that Melesias was an aristocrat and a personal friend of Pindar. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 147-50, suggests that, if athletes were professionals in the sense of accepting money, then trainers and coaches too were professionals; but they were not looked down upon as wage-earners. As Young points out, Pindar praises trainers and Pindar wrote for aristocrats rather than commoners.

[122] Pl. *Meno* 94c; see A26 and A51.

[123] While early trainers were former athletes, later *paidotribai* may not have been; and *palaestra*-owners may have been *paidotribai* or businessmen. Such men are not treated as athletes above unless there is corroborating evidence.

[124] Plut. *Alc.* 3.1; Delorme, *Gym.*, 59.

[125] *IG* I² 105.3; Lys. 25.25; *PA* 8525.

[126] Pl. *Chrm.* 153a, hence Lucian *Parasit.* 43 and Libanius *Or.* 18.155, *Decl.* 12.23. On the location, see Travlos, *PDA*, fig. 219 no. 185.

[127] Davies, *APF*, 14329, see 828 IV, stemma Table I; Dem. 21.147; Plut. *Alc.* 16.5; Ps. Andoc. 4.20-21, cf. 4.42. Of the wealthy family of Andocides, this Taureas was named in 415 as among the Hermokopidai but was released on the affidavit of Andocides IV (Andoc. 1.47, 68).

[128] Aeschin. (*In Tim.*) 1.102; *PA* 5932.

Hippokrates.[129] Another fourth-century *palaestra*-owner, Timagetos is otherwise unknown.[130] Finally ca. 300, beyond our scope but of significance, the Athenian Hippomachos, "the paidotribe," charged 100 drachmas for his services and the continued use of his *palaestra*.[131]

These individuals show that trainers and training were increasingly in evidence at Athens, especially in the heavy events. The technical advances of athletic preparation coincided with the loss of pride of place of physical aspects of education but certainly did not mean the end of physical education. In fact, where evidence is available, trainers seem to have been respectable men of means.[132]

b) Civic Awards and "Professionalism"

In classical Greece victorious athletes increasingly received tangible and intangible rewards both at the games and on their homecoming. Depending on the site of their victory, athletes were awarded valuable or symbolic prizes, and they also were granted certain honors and privileges, such as the herald's announcement and the right to set up a statue at Olympia.[133] Certainly Athens offered various prizes, most notably amphorae, for victors in her games and Solon probably codified civic awards for Athenian Panhellenic victors. Although critics complained bitterly, definite evidence about the institutionalization of such acclaim for athletes through civic action at Athens is quite limited.

Part of the famous Prytaneion Decree (*IG* I² 77) deals with honors granted by Athens to her equestrian and gymnastic victors in the Periodos.[134] Dating to the 430s, this decree is the earliest indication that Athens gave

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[129] Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 837e; *PA* 7629 treats him as an Athenian, but he cannot be identified since Hippokrates was a common name. Possibly he was the son of Hippokrates (*PA* 7639) cited as a witness ca. 343-340 (Ps. Dem. 59.123).

[130] Theoc. *Id.* 2.8. Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 843f refers to a *palaestra* built at Athens by Habron; this may have been used for teaching since Habron was a statesman; Forbes, *GPE*, 67.

[131] Lyncaeus Sam. *apud* Ath. 13.584c; *PA* 7649. Young, *Olympic Myth*, 115-18, uses the standard formula of one drachma = one day's wage (ca. 400 B.C.). In the Eleusinian accounts of 329 skilled craftsmen were paid at 2 or 2.5 drachmas a day (*IG* II² 1672.26-28,31-32,110-11, 177-78; A.H.M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Oxford, 1964), 143-44, n. 86), so Hippokrates' fee represented a considerable expense.

[132] Whether trainers in classical Athens are seen as "professionals" depends on the use of the term; see below on professional athletes. Early trainers were regarded as experts but probably did not see themselves as wage-earners.

[133] Buhmann, *Sieg*, has the most complete study of athletic honors both at the site of the festival (pp. 53-82) and on the athlete's return (pp. 104-37). The political overtones of victory are treated below in Part VI.

[134] The original publication was by R. Schoell, "Die Speisung im Prytaneion zu Athen," *Hermes* 6 (1872): 14-54. Also see Martin Ostwald, "The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined," *AJPhil.* 72 (1951): 24-46; W.E. Thompson, "The Prytaneion Decree," *AJPhil.* 92 (1971): 226-37.

awards to Pythian and Nemean as well as Olympic and Isthmian victors.[135] E. J. Morrissey has restored a portion of the decree (lines 11-19) as follows:[136]

... κα[ὶ hοπός]-
[οι νενικέκασι Ὀλυμπίασι] ἒ Πυθοῖ ἒ hισθμοῖ ἒ Ṇεμέ[αι ἒ νικ]-
[έσοσι τὸ λοιπόν, ἔναι αὐτ]ọῖσι τὲν σίτεσιν ἐν πρυτανε[ίο]-
[ι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δορειὰς π]ρὸς τε͂ι σιτέσει κατὰ τὰ [ἐν τ]ε͂[ι σ]-
[τελε͂ι γεγραμμένα τε͂ι ἐ]ṿ ṭο͂ι πρυτανείọι. hο[π]όσọ[ι δὲ hάρ]-
[ματι τελείοι ἒ hίπποι κ]έλετι νενι[κ]έκασι Ọ[λ]υμπ̣[ίασι ἒ Π]-
[υθοῖ ἒ hισθμοῖ ἒ Νεμέαι ἒ] νικέσοσι τὸ λοιπό[ν], ἔνạι [αὐτοῖ]-
[σι τὲν σίτεσιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ε͂ι στελε͂[ι] γεγραμ[μ]ένạ Ẹ[.....]
[......................]ị περὶ τὸ στρạṭ [...........]

On the basis of line 17 Morrissey restores lines 12-13 to include [ἒ νικ|έσοσι τὸ λοιπόν] arguing that this would guarantee board to all victors past and future in lines 11 to 15, with the same grant repeated specifically for hippic victors (lines 15-19).[137]

Initially the separate action concerning hippic victors was explained by W.E. Thompson as an innovation, a new granting of honors to hippic victors on the gymnastic model.[138] Although Thompson's restoration of *sitesis* in line 18 seems probable, Morrissey rejects the idea of an innovation since the hippic grant (like lines 11-15) seems to be justified on the basis of an earlier decree.[139] His theory of a ruling or clarification of the law, due to a dispute concerning hippic victors' eligibility or suitability for board under previous legislation, is uncompelling.[140] It has been suggested that Pericles was the proposer of the decree and the date would not preclude this.[141] In the late 430s the *demos* might not be inclined to sanction a separate

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[135] Ostwald, "Prytaneion," 25; S.G. Miller, *Prytaneion* (Berkeley, 1978), A26, suggests 431-421.

[136] Edmond J. Morrissey, "Victors in the Prytaneion Decree," *GRBS* 19 (1978): 121-25, offers a revised text and a discussion, to which W. E. Thompson replies in "More on the Prytaneion Decree," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 325-29.

[137] He rejects Schoell's restoration of [τὸς γ|υμνικὸς ἀγο͂νας] because this would have the effect of excluding musical victors.

[138] Thompson, "Prytaneion Decree," 236. In "More on the Prytaneion Decree," he now explains the separate action by a theory (more ingenious than probable) that hippic victors were awarded *sitesis* for their horses as well as for themselves.

[139] It is uncertain when *sitesis* for victors was introduced. The Prytaneion itself probably arose in the eighth century; Miller, *Prytaneion*, 52-53. Ath. 4.137e (Miller A17) says Solon prescribed barley or wheat cakes for the meals in the Prytaneion, but no reference is made to athletes.

[140] Morrissey, "Prytaneion," 123-24, feels popular discontent against hippic victors is shown in Thuc. 6.15.3 and in Pl. *Ap.* 36d; but his examples of democratic opposition date after the restatement of the grant in the 430s and he needs to explain why the hippic grant was retained rather than removed.

[141] H.T. Wade-Gery, "The Prytaneion Decree," *ABSA* 33 (1932/33): 123-27, made this suggestion, but Ostwald, "Prytaneion," 27-28, feels the idea cannot be supported or contradicted by available evidence.

motion instituting awards for such wealthy victors, but apparently the assembly did accept a simple restatement of such awards as part of an overall program of public grants of *sitesis* for services to the state. Such a program of public benefits would be popular and quite appropriate for Pericles.

Proper restoration of *IG* I^2 77.14 is significant since the context seems to call for "other honors" pertaining to *sitesis*. Morrissey is in favor of Thompson's restoration of [καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δορειάς] and points out that the privilege most often awarded with *sitesis* in later honorific decrees was *prohedria*, or precedence at the city's athletic festivals. In fact, *sitesis* seems not to have been given without *prohedria* until Roman times.[142] The "other gifts" may have included the Solonian awards, but additional civic rewards other than those mentioned cannot be specified.

That *sitesis*—and probably *prohedria*—for victors was retained throughout the fourth century is attested by Plato,[143] and other sources suggest that such rewards continued and perhaps increased.[144] Despite ancient criticisms and modern suggestions of social implications,[145] such a policy of rewards presupposes continued popular support or acceptance. The policy of rewards was not a radical innovation pushed by a class of athletes, but an institutionalized expression of civic appreciation.[146]

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[142] Morrissey, "Prytaneion," 124, with late inscriptions cited in his notes 9-10; cf. Buhmann, *Sieg*, 112-13.

[143] As Thompson points out, "More on the Prytaneion Decree," 327, n. 7, Pl. *Ap*. 36d-e (Miller A62; cf. *Resp*. 5.465d-e) shows that Athens must have extended the awarding of *sitesis* to include victors in the two-horse chariot after that event was introduced at Olympia (Paus. 8.8.10) in 408.

[144] Timocles *apud* Ath. 6.237f (Edmonds *FAC* 2: frag. 8; Miller A153 with trans.):

γέρα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ταὐτὰ τοῖς τὠλύμπια
νικῶσι δίδοται χρηστότητος εἵνεκα
σίτησις. οὗ γὰρ μὴ τίθενται συμβολαί,
πρυτανεῖα ταῦτα πάντα προσαγορεύεται.

These same honors are given to them (parasites) as to those who win at Olympia on account of their goodness, that is sitesis. Where payments are not established, all these are to be called prytaneia.

Plut. *Aristeides* 27.3 (citing Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F48) refers to a vote of *sitesis*, similar to that given to Olympic victors, for the granddaughter of Aristides. Ps. Andoc. *Against Alcibiades* 4.31 declares that Alcibiades got *sitesis* after his hippic win (also see Isoc. 16.49).

[145] Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," discusses both sacred and thematic games and prizes (pp. 54-71), discounting any incompatibility between economically valuable prizes and sacred games, and asserting that the continuing tradition of athletic rewards was simply a development from very early elements in athletics. Since native cities rewarded victorious athletes, men competed in both types of games; and the association of rewards with lower class professionalism is post-classical; see "Zur Soziologie," 70-71.

[146] Miller, *Prytaneion*, 4-9, explains that *sitesis* was one of the highest honors that a city paid to an individual; it was granted to athletes as it was to civic benefactors and their descendants. The relationship of athletics to civic life is indicated by the location of *sitesis* for athletes in the Prytaneion, regarded by Miller (pp. 13-14) as the symbol and core of the city.

For pre-Hellenistic Athens, the attention and condemnation attracted by the rise of "professionalism" in athletics is as much a matter of modern interpretation as of ancient evidence.[147] Conventionally, over-competition and valuable prizes are said to promote excess, which dooms athletics. According to Gardiner, "Excess begets Nemesis: the Nemesis of excess in athletics is professionalism, which is the death of all true sport...." Early in the fifth century "pot-hunters" are said to have travelled from festival to festival seeking prizes and degrading athletics.[148] By the late fifth century professionalism supposedly was so entrenched that it altered the social background of athletic competition.[149]

For ancient Greece, modern concepts of professional and amateur are somewhat anachronistic.

> Nowadays by professionals we mean sportsmen who make money out of their sport. Full professionals are those who devote all their time and make a living out of it; semi-professionals devote a certain percentage of their time to sport and derive only part of their daily bread from it.[150]

"Professionalism" has two related aspects. In the financial aspect, a professional earns money and a livelihood from his acts, which constitute his occupation, while amateurism implies an avocational involvement.[151] In

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[147] For example, Gardiner, *GASF*, 122-45; *AAW*, 96-116; C. Manning, "Professionalism in Greek Athletics," *CW* 11 (1917): 74-77; Thomas Woody, "Professionalism and the Decay of Greek Athletics," *School and Society* 47 (1938): 521-28; A.H. Gilbert, "Olympic Decadence," *CJ* 21 (1925/26): 587-98. Young, *Olympic Myth*, commendably has done much to demythologize the study of ancient athletic profit. He asserts that the Greeks lacked both the ideology and the vocabulary of amateurism. According to Young, ancient athletes earned wealth; they were not amateurs, and they did not display aristocratic exclusiveness. Certainly Young has shown that the issue of professionalism has been an overworked source of confusion, that amateurism (in the Olympist sense) is more modern myth than ancient history, and that there are serious flaws in major general works on ancient sport and the Olympic Games.

[148] Gardiner, *AAW*, 99-101.

[149] Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 57-74, connects the rise of professional athletes to the development of democracy at Athens: the socially dominant classes shifted from a physical to an intellectual viewpoint, and sport supposedly changed from an aristocratic recreation to a lower class occupation.

[150] Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80.

[151] Pindar, a source for the romanticized ideal of amateurism, is also a source for the most probable occupational professionals in pre-Hellenistic sport—the equestrian drivers. Professional drivers and charioteers were usually anonymous men riding or driving horses for owners who were proclaimed the victors. Pindar (*Isthm.* 2.21-22; cf. *Ol.* 1.18; *Pyth.* 5.50) says that Xenokrates of Akragas, Isthmian chariot victor ca. 477, had won at Athens earlier with a charioteer named Nikomachos. Ebert, *Epigramme*, p. 41, claims that the earliest known professional athletes were the ἡνίοχοι (ἡνίοχος = ἡνία ἔχω), rein-holders, drivers or charioteers. The earliest reference to one of these is from Alkmeonides' dedication in Ptoion after his Panathenaic win of ca. 546 (*IG* I^2 472; *IAG* no. 5; Ebert, *Epigramme*, no. 3). Alcibiades and many others certainly made use of such true "professionals." Cf. Pindar's praise (*Isthm.* 1.15) for a chariot victor who handled the reins himself.

the temporal aspect, a professional devotes a great deal of time to practising and perfecting his skills.[152] It is arguable that pre-Hellenistic Athens was not yet suitable for fully professional athletes in the financial sense (nor, for that matter, for an influx of the poor into athletics).[153] In classical times athletes required not only leisure time, but training under instruction, and money to travel to games.[154] Thus athletes needed money to become and to remain athletes (and obviously the need was much greater for equestrian competition).[155]

Unless they had their own money, "professional" athletes would need subsidization. The existence of prizes and civic rewards was not intended to induce professionalism, and Solon's rewards resulted in no sudden change in the social origins of Athenian athletes.[156] Rewards, regarded as gifts rather than wages, went only to the few victors, and these men already had financed their preparations.[157] An obvious source of funds conducive

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[152] E.A. Glader, *Amateurism and Athletics* (West Point, N.Y., 1978), 19-20, explains that increases in practice, rewards and skill have a cyclical effect.

[153] This study accepts David C. Young's argument, "Professionalism in Archaic and Classical Greek Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983): 45-51, that with the proliferation of prizes and festivals non-noble competition was possible, but the Athenian evidence indicates that aristocrats predominated in early years and that athletics remained élitist. This study admits—in fact it argues—that Athens may not be typical; Athens, Croton and other states may represent exceptions or regional variations, which the conventional picture tends to gloss over in presenting a theoretical Greek norm. For example, while Athens was less involved in colonization, the colonists at Croton—except for their leaders—came from depressed economic circumstances. Poor colonists went to Croton seeking economic opportunities, but wealthy Athenians could afford to stay put. Accordingly, aristocratic dominance persisted at Athens while Croton, as Young shows (134-46), developed an "athletic empire."

[154] The staggered sequence of Panhellenic games and the number of local contests would allow an athlete to travel about to almost continual competition—if he could afford to travel and stay in continuous training. Travel from Athens to Olympia took five days and an athlete usually took along a slave to bear the equipment (Xen. *Mem.* 3.13.5-6). Plato (*Leg.* 7.807c) declares that the life of someone aiming at a Pythian or Olympic victory lacks leisure for any other activity. A. Papalas, "The Development of Greek Boxing," *AncW* 8 (1984): 74, argues that heavy athletics were more financially demanding (needing sparring partners and trainers) and that early lower class athletes had a better opportunity in running events, especially sprints where natural speed could offset finesse and training.

[155] The connection between wealth and hippotrophy was a literary commonplace. Aristotle, *Pol.* 12896, 1321a, regards hippotrophy as possible only for the wealthiest families. Herodotus clearly points out (6.125.5) that the Alkmeonids' hippotrophy began with and because of the gift of gold from Croesus; see T.S. Brown, "Herodotus' Views on Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983): 29. Davies accepts hippotrophy as an unquestionable indication of membership in the Athenian upper class. See *APF*, pp. xxv-xxvi and especially n. 7, p. xxv for literary references. Anderson, *Greek Horsemanship*, 135-36, estimates the income of the minimum estates of horseowners (cavalry, not race horses) at 300 drachmas in the early sixth century, 600 at the end of the fifth, 900 around 390, and 1500-1800 in the late fourth century.

[156] See Donald G. Kyle, "Solon and Athletics," *AncW* 9 (1984): 91-105. The awarding of gold crowns and money to musicians at the Panathenaea usually is interpreted (e.g. Parke, *Festivals*, 35) as an indication of professional musical competitors, but athletes continued to receive Panathenaic amphorae which had both symbolic and material value.

[157] Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 54-71, has made a firm argument that rewards were

to professionalism would be civic or private patronage, the subsidization of a naturally talented boy as he developed; but the earliest evidence for this is ca. 300.[158] It is probable that most athletes at Athens got their funding from the traditional source, that is familial wealth, in early times usually in the form of property. Although public gymnasia and civic rewards could help reduce the social exclusiveness of athletics,[159] prosopography indicates that athletes prior to the rise of patronage probably became athletes with the help of familial resources. The influence of athletics on social mobility at Athens was probably quite limited.[160] Rather than assuming that men entered athletics and rose in economic class by their professionalism, we should consider the possibility that individuals first rose in economic class and then they—or more likely their sons—entered athletics and hippotrophy.

The study of athletes in the previous section may indicate the existence of "professional" athletes in classical Athens in the sense of devotion of time—but probably not financial dependency.[161] Such men appeared at the time when the development of athletic training and techniques demanded that an athlete be trained and not just naturally talented. Theagenes of Thasos, because of his some 1300 wins in boxing and the *pankration* over a 22-year period in the first half of the fifth century, is usually cited as an early "professional."[162] Among Athenians, Kallias Didymiou probably was a temporal professional.[163] Dioxippos may have been a financial professional,

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so regarded and that there was no social stigma attached to accepting rewards for athletic success. As Demosthenes points out (*Lept.* 20.142), athletes get great rewards but such honors are necessarily confined to a few individuals.

[158] An inscription of ca. 300 from Ephesus says that the trainer of a promising but not wealthy youth asked the city to subsidize his client's training and travelling abroad; L. Robert, "Décrets d'Ephèse pour des athlètes," *Revue de Philologie* (1967) : 14-32; Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 72. C.G. Starr, "Subsidization of Athletes," *CJ* 31 (1935/36) : 444-45, deals more with examples of bribery than subsidization.

[159] S.G. Miller, Preface to the American Edition of E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, xi-xii, recognizes the significance of familial wealth for an athlete's "superior diet," but contends that *sitesis* for victors "... meant, in effect, that the athlete was state-supported for any subsequent victories he might win." As he points out in his own work, *Prytaneion*, 13-14, the fare in the Prytaneion was modest, not luxurious—hardly the "superior diet" of an athlete in training. Also, even this was unavailable to a victor when he was abroad competing. *Sitesis* represents civic appreciation more than athletic subsidization.

[160] Aeschines, 2.147, says that his father (see A11) was an athlete "before he lost his property;" cf. Isoc. *Areo.* 7.53. As noted earlier, Pl. *Prt.* 326c says that fathers educate their sons in gymnastics "to the best of their means," and those best able are the rich.

[161] The existence of formal organizations, athletic guilds, is a sound indication of professionalism, but this was a Hellenistic development. See H.W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds," *ZPE* 10 (1973) : 197-227; and C.A. Forbes, "Ancient Athletic Guilds," *CPhil* 50 (1955) : 238-52.

[162] Ebert, *Epigramme*, no. 27, pp. 118-26; Gardiner, *AAW*, 101. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 63-67, and "Athletes and Ideology," 81, says that such athletes would object to the idea of earning their livelihood from sport; they simply accumulated wealth in a honorable way.

[163] See A29.

but his career is late and atypical for classical Athens.[164] Athletic opportunity favored the few who had the leisure, wealth and inclination to compete; and in the fourth as in earlier centuries, the mass of the Athenian population watched and enjoyed the athletic endeavors of a minority.

Gardiner claims that before the end of the fifth century ἀθλητής had already begun to denote the professional athlete as opposed to the amateur (ἰδιώτης). He cites Xenophon's version of a conversation between Socrates and a youth in which the elder man criticizes the younger for his lack of physical fitness (ὡς ἰδιωτικῶς ... τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις). The youth replies ἰδιώτης γάρ ... εἰμί, which Gardiner interprets as a reflection of popular attitudes to the rise of professional athletes.[165] A better passage for the different connotations of *athletes* and *idiotes* comes from Aristotle:

> ὥσπερ οὖν ἀνόπλοις ὡπλισμένοι μάχονται καὶ ἀθληταὶ ἰδιώταις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγῶσιν οὐχ οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι μαχιμώτατοί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ μάλιστα ἰσχύοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄριστα ἔχοντες.
>
> So they are like armed men fighting against unarmed men, or trained athletes against amateurs; for even in athletic contests it is not the bravest men who are the best fighters, but those who are the strongest and in the best training.[166]

The Greek word *idiotes* had several meanings: civilian, private citizen, layman, untrained person.[167] As Finley and Pleket explain:

> For Aristotle it was as absurd for an unarmed man to fight an armed man as for an amateur to compete with a professional athlete. "Professional" to him, as to every Greek, meant a man who received proper training and devoted himself more or less full-time to an activity; an *idiotes* (we should say "an amateur") did neither. The modern distinction—whether or not one was paid for the activity—did not enter into the picture ....[168]

In classical Athens, then, *athletes* had specific connotations in terms of training and temporal dedication, rather than being suggestive of full "professionalism." This reflects the advance of training techniques and athletic skills, a natural development of specialization over time in athletics as in politics or society.

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[164] See A20.

[165] Xen. *Mem.* 3.12.1; Gardiner, *GASF*, 130, n. 2.

[166] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 3.8.8 (1116b); trans. H. Rackham.

[167] *LSJ* s.v.

[168] Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 71. Likewise, Young, *Olympic Myth*, n. 1 on pp. 7-8, pointing to Xen. *Heiro* 4.6 and Dio Chrys. 28.5-8, comments: "Unlike the common English compound 'amateur athlete,' the words *idiotes* and *athletes* never appear joined in Greek. For they are mutually exclusive terms, and the combination amounts to a contradiction."

Conclusion

Providing interesting and challenging sources, the criticisms of athletics at Athens need to be viewed in the light of the nature and context of each source. It is essential to recognize the influence of literary conventions and to keep in mind the purpose and ideals of each author. Early criticisms of athletic rewards seem to be not so much attacks on athletes as assertions of the value (underestimated by society at large) of intellectuals to a *polis*. Similarly, from a political point of view, the athlete was condemned as a poor citizen and soldier undeserving of the honors given him by the masses.[169] This complaint—that rewards for athletes were excessive and inappropriate—became a recurrent motif in Greek literature. In addition to the earlier criticisms of the rewards and civic worth of athletes, by the fifth century new criticisms of athletic training reflect the spread of training and specialization. Soon the athlete in literature became a caricature as *topoi* included references to athletes' over-development, over-specialization, self-indulgence and gluttony.

In classical Athens literary authors could use either (or both) negative and positive literary conventions about athletics, adapting *topoi* to the work at hand. Orators, having access to the same traditions, were capable of arguing either side of the issue, depending on the circumstances. Philosophers were influenced by their ideologies as well as by literature; to support their views on education and improper lifestyles, they criticized athletes from an ethical or metaphysical point of view as unharmonious, unnatural humans.[170] In sum, none of the critical passages is very reliable by itself because of the nature of the source or the predisposition of the author.

At most, individual critics represented exaggerated or understandable—yet ineffectual—minority viewpoints. Altogether the criticisms reflect a literary motif, and the persistence of the criticisms suggests that athletics remained a concern and a part of life at Athens. Despite the number of criticisms, the history of Athenian competitions and rewards shows that the critics had minimal effect.[171] More objective evidence, such as inscriptions, testifies to

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[169] Although critics often present athletic and military excellence as opposites, E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, "Leagros Kalos," *PCPS* 207 (1981): 121, assert, from citations including Pind. *Ol.* 6.85-90; Plut. *Cim.* 13.3; and *IG* II^2 609, that "The ethical equivalence of athletic and military achievement in ancient Greece is well-known."

[170] According to Bilinski, *Agonistica*, 74-87, the philosophical opposition of mind and body, which challenged the aristocratic ideal of the *kaloikagathoi*, was related to the rise of divisions of labor and the resultant class divisions. The physical/intellectual antithesis, which he connects to changes in society and social values, culminated in the fourth century.

[171] The enthusiasm for sport and the glory of victory remained undiminished: Buhmann, *Sieg*, 137-39; Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 116. Criticisms of Greek athletics gained influence only later when in support of native cultural traditions (at Rome) or when supported by religious enthusiasm (in the Christian era).

the expansion, popularity and civic involvement of athletics at Athens.[172] Other than possibly in the nebulous area of athletic morality, "growth and development" seems as appropriate for Athenian athletics as "decline and degeneration."[173]

Critics and other evidence show that training itself, especially of heavy athletes, became an advanced, well-respected discipline at Athens. Note that concerning training criticism generally is directed at the athletes and not at the trainers. Also the tradition of honoring athletes for victories was a continuing practice, although not as excessive at Athens as critics might suggest. Exaggeration of the over-development or unhealthy lifestyle of athletes can also be suspected. By the fourth century, criticisms of specialization and excess could be applied to military and political as well as athletic activity. The athletic ideal of physical *arete* had lost some of its allure, but the institutionalized practice of athletics was still very much in evidence.

Probably the Athenian lower classes did not participate in athletics to any significant degree; yet, judging from the intensity and continuity of critical references to the popularity of games and victors, the *demos* was in favor of the Athenian program of athletics and rewards.[174] Note that concerning rewards criticism is directed at the people who offer rather than the athletes who receive rewards. When popular leaders appealed to the wishes of the common Athenian, voters supported public spending on athletic festivals, rewards and facilities.[175] Although the Old Oligarch and others opposed

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[172] The history of athletics should note objective indexes of expansion as well as qualitative, subjective evaluations.

[173] It is dangerous to generalize about the morality of athletes, but interstate rivalry seems to have led to cases of transfer or sale of victories, especially in the fourth century. See Paus. 5.21.5 on the Zanes; and C.A. Forbes, "Crime and Punishment in Greek Athletics," *CJ* 47 (1951/52): 169-73, 202-03. Concerning Athens, the actions of Alcibiades, in his displays and his treatment of Teisias, and the conviction of Kallippos of bribery at Olympia, may be regarded as signs of immorality in sports. Yet Alcibiades was motivated by ambition rather than greed, and Kallippos' bribery was surely not an inexpensive way to profit from sport. Furthermore, Antilochus' tactics against Menelaus in *Il.* 23 (see Matthew W. Dickie, "Fair and Foul in the Funeral Games in the Iliad," *Journal of Sport History* 11 no. 2 (1984): 8-17), and Kimon's transfer of a victory to Pisistratus in the sixth century, should keep us from assuming that all early victors were innocent or altruistic.

[174] An incident concerning the famous athlete, Dorieus of Rhodes, shows that the Athenians respected foreign as well as Athenian victors. When Dorieus was captured fighting against Athens in the Peloponnesian War, the Athenians released him without even a ransom (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19; Paus. 6.7.4). Cf. the earlier Athenian execution of Timesitheus of Delphi, an Olympic pancratiast, for his accompaniment of Cleomenes against Athens (Hdt. 5.72). References to Phayllos of Kroton (Ar. *Ach.* 215; *Vesp.* 1205-07), the survival of his dedication on the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 76), and the recurrence of his name as *kalos* on vases (*ARV*² 168; 26 no. 2; 28 no. 11; 15 no. 8) suggest that Phayllos was well respected at Athens.

[175] Isocrates, 7.53, complains that public festivals had become extravagant, ostentatious shows in contrast to their moderation in the era of the forefathers. Demosthenes, 3.31, suggests that contemporary politicians bribed the populace with festival funds and processions. On the political overtones of athletic benefactions and displays, see below, Chap. VI.

public spending on athletics (as an error of democracy and empire), this was not a radical innovation but rather an expansion of civic traditions.

Paradoxically, conservative critics condemned developments in athletics (excessive preparations *before* and excessive honors *after* victory) at the same time as they lamented the decline of gymnastics or physical education, especially as contributing to the military preparedness of the state. While the increase in the popularity of athletics was blamed mainly on the democracy, the decline of gymnastics generally was blamed on the Sophists and the New Education in the late fifth century. However, the supposed Sophistic elimination of physical education was an exaggeration. Although the physical aspects of education had lost their old predominance, the gymnasia and *palaestrae* were not deserted. Gymnastics, in fact, soon became an important element of the *ephebeia.*

The training of a man's body, or his acceptance of honors for victory, need not dictate his status or worth in society.[176] While the above study of known Athenian athletes concluded that athletics remained élitist rather than becoming a lower-class profession, now the examination of the critical sources and of other independent evidence undermines the assumption of full professionalism and decline in Athenian athletics. Any shift from élitist amateurism to lower class professionalism at Athens was later and less extensive than is generally assumed. Certainly "professionalism" in athletics in classical Athens was not as rampant, malignant or commercial as we have been led to believe.

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[176] An aversion to manual labor reappears in Greek intellectual writings, for example Pl. *Prt.* 312a-b. Austin and Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece* (London, 1977), 14-18, feel that this aristocratic ideal of leisure and absence of the need for economic activity was widespread throughout society; but Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 150, 334-35, argues that the contempt for the *banausos* voiced by the aristocratic Plato and fourth-century philosophers was not shared by the average Athenian. Although Ps. Plato, *Alc.* 2.145e, treats athletics as a *techne*, Xenophon's discussion of *banausikai* (*Oikon.* 4.1-4; 6.4-8) does not mention athletes. Pleket, "Athletes and Ideology," 80-87, shows that it was only critics, especially later ones like Galen, who applied *techne* or *epitedeuma* (with the meaning of "profession") to athletics. Through Greco-Roman times, in their own counter-ideology the athletes did not regard their activity as a *techne* nor did they see prizes as *misthos* or wages.

CHAPTER SIX

ATHLETICS AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Although modern exponents of Olympism might like to believe otherwise, the ancient Greeks did not always attend or compete in games solely for the love of sport; and the political overtones of games, as fields of competition or forums for publicity, were not always positive and Panhellenic. Although not as politically significant as war or economics, athletics nonetheless formed a historical factor worthy of consideration in Greek political life.[1] At Athens gymnastic and equestrian competition was a visible, prestigious activity, and the patronage and administration of athletic games, facilities and rewards formed a major area of concern and expense. The realm of athletics thus had a political potential, extra-constitutional but influential, that ambitious athletes and politicians did not overlook. The following discussion outlines the relationship between athletics and the nature of politics, specifically political leadership, at Athens.

Agonism, that very Greek urge to compete and excel, was pronounced in athletes and politicians.[2] The underlying motive was *philotimia*, the desire to display and gain recognition for one's excellence in character and especially in deed.[3] Athenian athletic history reveals a development away from early direct, personal competition in games, as a means to fame and thence to political advancement, and a movement by aspiring leaders in the fifth century toward indirect, parapolitical involvement via the fostering or administration of athletics. The effectiveness of the direct approach in horse and chariot-racing lasted slightly longer than in gymnastic events, but it too lapsed by the early fourth century. Meaningful correlations between Athenian athletic and political ambitions largely ceased in the fourth century with the growing separation between these increasingly specialized and institutionalized areas.

The earliest Athenian athletes competed as members of aristocratic clans; but, with the development of the city, men began to see themselves as citizens

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[1] For a good survey of politics and Olympia, see A. Hönle, *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt* (Bebenhausen, 1972); or more generally, Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 98-112.

[2] For example, as leading character traits of Alcibiades, Plutarch, *Alc.* 2.1, lists τὸ φιλόνεικον and τὸ φιλόπρωτον.

[3] Even in the fourth century Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 1.5.4 (1095b)) declared that the best people regarded honor, equated with happiness, as the proper goal of political life. See David Whitehead, "Competitive Outlay and Community Profit: Φιλοτιμία in Democratic Athens," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 24 (1983): 55-74, on the interplay of individual honor and civic interest in democratic ideology.

as well as noble athletes or clan leaders.[4] Pericles' Funeral Oration declares that the Athenians were members of a political community and that mutual goals and obligations were fulfilled by the relationship.[5] Citizens owed services to the state and they in turn got civic benefits and appreciation. Similarly, athletes and political leaders brought fame or good policies and so merited recognition and support.[6] While the community expressed itself by public burials, crowns and athletic rewards, citizens represented themselves via monuments, odes and speeches. The *polis*-mentality, a political balance of obligations and rewards, was a vulnerable and ideal construct produced by and essential to the vitality of the classical city-state. This attitude was not maintained in the changing world of the fourth century; politicians and athletes became separate, self-serving experts.[7] In chronological order, the following outlines the *direct*, then the *indirect*, and finally the *disappearing* relationship between athletics and political leadership. These stages correspond roughly to ages of clan, then citizen, and finally private concerns.

The earliest Athenian athletes reflect the directness and unity of old aristocratic life. Kylon (A40), perhaps relying on the appeal of his athletic *arete*, tried disastrously to extend his Olympic preeminence into tyranny.[8] Phrynon (A68) was both an Olympic victor and a general, an athletic as well as a political leader.[9] Both men show a probably frequent combination of athletic and political ambitions by an Athenian noble.

In archaic Athens the significant political and athletic unit was the well-established, propertied noble family or clan. Internationally connected, though not that Panhellenically motivated, members of these clans had a

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[4] Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, 144-60, 296-98, discusses the civic focus of popular morality. Persons were evaluated as elements of a community, as efficient or defective working parts of the communal mechanism.

[5] Thuc. 2.35-47. Plato (*Meno* 71e) defines *arete* politically: human excellence consists in handling the city's affairs capably, so that one helps his friends and injures his foes while taking care to come to no harm himself; cf. *Prt.* 318e-319a; Xen. *Mem.* 4.2.11; Thuc. 6.9.2, 6.14. See Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, 229-31.

[6] The parallel is evident in Xen. *Mem.* 3.7.1-2. Socrates asks Charmides his opinion of a man who was capable but unwilling to win a crown in the Games and "so honor himself and make his city more famous." He next asks him what he thinks of a man who avoids affairs of state although he thus could "aid the state and honor himself." The obvious implication is that a citizen should use his athletic or political talents for the mutual enrichment of the city and himself.

[7] On the ethical shift, from serving to living off the community, as reflected on stage, see Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 325-36.

[8] Notations such as "Kylon (A40)" refer to entries, usually known victors, in the Catalogues of Athletes in Appendix B. On Kylon and his interpretation of the oracle, see Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, 87-88.

[9] G. L. Huxley, *Early Ionians* (New York and London, 1966), 87, and Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, 89-90, suggest that Phrynon may have been one of Kylon's surviving sympathizers who emigrated after the failure of the coup; cf. T.S. Brown, "Herodotus' Views on Athletics," *AncW* 7 (1983): 23 n. 20.

personal and familial attitude toward competition.[10] With familial traditions, cult connections, and regional power bases, members of rival clans competed against each other both in gymnastic and equestrian events and in the 'race' for political leadership and major offices.[11] This direct approach in both fields of endeavor was to suffer with the aristocratic families and lifestyle it suited so well.

The enigmatic Solon deserves a brief mention here.[12] Although he did not use athletics in pursuit of political leadership, he seems to have been aware —perhaps via Kylon—of the political potential of athletics. His legislation concerning athletics probably was in part an attempt to lessen the clan orientation of sport, to integrate nobles more closely into the state by giving aristocratic agonism a more civic focus. Although he did introduce the role of the state into Athenian athletics, aristocratic traditions remained strong; and through the sixth century noble athletes and politicians continued to be predominantly clan oriented.

The Alkmeonidai provide an excellent insight into the direct relationship between early Athenian athletics and politics. This family included Megakles I, archon at the time of the Kylonian affair, and his son Alkmeon I (A5), a general and an Olympic chariot victor of 592. Alkmeon's son Megakles II (P101) competed for the hand of Agariste of Sikyon in a contest, more political than romantic, in which athletic ability seems to have been a consideration. This Megakles led the family and the Paralia faction prior to the Pisistratid tyranny, left Athens, and then returned via the politically motivated marriage of his daughter to the tyrant ca. 557. Another son of Alkmeon I, Alkmeonides I (A6), was a chariot victor in the newly reorganized Panathenaea but proclaimed his win abroad, perhaps fleeing because his domestic success made him too prominent with Pisistratus back in power in 546.[13] A grandson of Megakles II and Agariste, Megakles IV (A43) was a political leader in the 480s and won a chariot race at the Pythia in 486 immediately after being forced into exile by ostracism. For this family, success at the Games was a political tool, like dynastic marriage, used even from exile in seeking leadership or at least influence at Athens.[14] The power of the family suffered in the fifth century; Megakles V (A44) won the Olympic

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[10] Athenian history to the Peloponnesian War was essentially the history of her leading families, grouped in factions including *philoi* and *hetairoi*; Bicknell, *Politics and Genealogy*, preface.

[11] Davies, *APF*, xx.

[12] See above, p. 21 f.

[13] A possible son of Alkmeonides I was Hippokrates, son of Alkmeonides of Alopeke, a candidate for ostracism in the 480s. See *APF* 9688 III and E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 220-21, 232-34, figs. 39-40.

[14] Davies, *APF*, pp. 369-70, points to Alkmeonid use of the Delphic oracle, the pro-democratic shift with Kleisthenes, and horse-breeding as political techniques.

chariot race in 436 but had an undistinguished political career.[15] The history of this family demonstrates direct competition in both athletics and politics, and shows the trend from early to diminishing success by this route as the aristocracy lost its hold on Athenian affairs.[16]

Similarly, the family of Kimon was politically prominent, and Herodotus notes their reputation for four-horse chariots.[17] After his failure as an athletic suitor at Sikyon, Hippokleides (P97) was archon in 566 when the Panathenaea was reorganized. Kimon I (A34), forced into exile, kept himself in the public eye with an Olympic chariot win in 536.[18] Winning again in 532, he conceded the victory to Pisistratus in exchange for permission to return to Athens. Apparently he misjudged the political threat of his chariot-racing —perhaps he was a "booby" (κοάλεμος), as Herodotus says—for when he won again in 528 Hippias, having recently succeeded Pisistratus, seems to have instigated his death. We know of no political office or conspicuous role for this Kimon, but the tyrants at least recognized the political potential of his fame.[19] Kimon's half-brother Miltiades III (A46) won the Olympic chariot race in 560 before becoming ruler of the Chersonese. Away from Athens he publicized his success with minted coins and with a dedication at Olympia. He was succeeded in the Chersonese by Miltiades IV who, reconciled with the tyranny after the death of Kimon I, held the archonship of 524/3. With Kimon II, grandson of Kimon I, the family no longer contended directly in both politics and athletics.[20]

Pisistratus (A55), a key figure in Athenian political and athletic history, was, like other tyrants, an initiator of new trends. His father, Hippokrates, went to see the Olympic Games in the late seventh century, and perhaps noted

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[15] Megakles' hippotrophy may have aided his minor political activity as secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 428/7; see *APF* 9697, see 9688 XI.

[16] Similar to the Alkmeonidai, the family of Kallias had a sixth-century reputation for conspicuous wealth and political influence. Kallias I (A30) had equestrian wins from Olympia and Delphi in 564, named his son Hipponikos, and felt confident enough to buy the confiscated property of Pisistratus ca. 559. Kallias II (A31) was a three-time Olympic chariot victor as well as a diplomat. The family seems to have turned to strategic marriage alliances: Kallias II married the sister of Kimon II in 489, and then married his son to the ex-wife of Pericles and his daughter to Alcibiades III. The aristocracy was drawing together under the pressure from democracy, and by the time of Kallias III the family led neither in politics nor hippotrophy.

[17] Hdt. 6.35. The significance of hippotrophy as a traditional political asset has long been recognized; see M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 110. Brown, "Herodotus' Views," 29, comments: "Herodotus has a good sense of the political advantages to those families with sufficient resources to maintain four-horse chariots for competition in the games. This was a back-breaking expense even for the rich."

[18] While Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History*, 158, relates Kimon's exile to his horse-racing fame, Davies, *APF*, p. 300, feels the exile was due to the danger Kimon presented to the tyranny as a figurehead of political constitutionality.

[19] Connor, *New Politicians*, 10-11, sees a political motive behind Kimon's death.

[20] In the late fifth century Miltiades VI (P104) was known for his physical fitness but not for political leadership; on the family, see Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History*, 155-70.

the popularity of such a gathering before receiving a prodigy that his son would be famous.[21] From a wealthy family with recurrent "Hipp-" names, Pisistratus was personally busy maintaining his tyranny so he used indirect tactics in the realm of athletics. Like his short-lived marriage to an Alkmeonid, Pisistratus' purchase of Kimon I's second Olympic chariot win was an astute political move.[22] Reducing Kimon to the status of a ἡνίοχος, a hired driver, the tyrant showed the Athenians that even the leaders of the great clans had to seek terms from him.[23] As well as becoming an absentee victor —his concession to the traditional route—Pisistratus showed future politicians the value, for public relations, of promoting civic athletics. Pisistratus usually is credited with expanding the Panathenaea, and the ceramic evidence suggests that the athletic program grew and became systematized under the tyranny.[24] The sponsorship of the worship of the national goddess Athena, countering the aristocratic, centrifugal influence of local cults, was part of a policy of associating the tyranny with public, constructive programs.[25] Such a policy, capitalizing on the popularity of athletics, included building projects and the "nationalization" of localized cults and festivals. Pisistratus drew political support from sponsoring as well as winning contests.[26]

The late sixth and the fifth century saw major developments in Athenian athletics and politics, hence the relationship between the two areas changed. The Kleisthenic reforms and the Persian War turned the city toward democracy and empire. After 487 an allotted archonship became overshadowed by an elected strategeia. The weakening of the aristocracy and the rise of non-landed wealth allowed the social and political advancement of new groups. Emphasizing mass appeal and a philodemotic image, the new politics

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[21] Hdt. 1.59.1-2.

[22] This political bargain is the earliest known example of the transfer of an Olympic victory; Robinson, *Sources*, 82, notes Pisistratus' eagerness for the victory.

[23] Davies, *APF*, pp. 454-55, rejects any Pisistratid use of hippotrophy and points to the influence of cults, coinage and mercenaries. Pisistratus, however, at least associated himself with hippic victory, and his sons Hippias (P96) and Hipparchos (P95) may have been hippic victors. Hipparchos' dedication in the Ptoion in Boeotia ca. 520-514 may have been to offset an earlier dedication there by Alkmeonides I (A6).

[24] See above, p. 28ff. Andrewes, *Greek Tyrants*, 113-14, credits Pisistratus with increasing the magnificence of the festival, and with a temple on the Acropolis, in opposition to the local particularism of the clans. If the wall of Hipparchos is historical (see above, p. 73), the son was following the father by public munificence in matters relevant to athletics. Both sons were busy with the Panathenaea at the time of the tyrannicide; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 18.2-3; Thuc. 6.54-58.

[25] As a popular champion of the *demos*, Pisistratus capitalized on the disunity of the aristocracy. Arnheim, *Aristocracy*, 139-40, depicts Kleisthenes as another anti-aristocratic aristocrat whose reforms were the secular counterpart of the tyrant's religious policies.

[26] Married to his granddaughter for a time, Pisistratus may have followed the example of Kleisthenes of Sikyon concerning athletics. Kleisthenes, an Olympic chariot victor, aided the prestige of the Pythia after the Sacred War in 590, and then established a Sikyonian Pythia in 574 (Hdt. 5.67) to rival Delphi after falling out with Delphi. See M. F. McGregor, "Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals," *TAPA* 72 (1941): 266-87.

of popular democracy put a premium on acquired personal skills like oratory, especially in the second half of the fifth century. The means of gaining and keeping political leadership became less traditional and more complicated, making increasing demands on the time and talents of leaders.[27]

The world of athletics also included new men and new approaches. Athletics were still an upper-class pursuit but new athletes were entering by wealth more than birth.[28] In gymnastic athletics there was a growing emphasis on preparation and training rather than natural ability. Pindar mentions trainers like Melesias grooming men from an early age for victory in the Games, and critics suggest that such training left athletes ill-prepared for other pursuits. The equestrian world meanwhile increasingly saw the use of hired drivers and multiple entries, requiring riches but not personal dedication or skill. While gymnastic competition was demanding a major commitment of time and energy, and hippotrophy was demanding less, victory in either brought acclaim.[29]

The trend to specialization and the value of acquired skills in politics and athletics doomed the route to political influence via direct gymnastic competition. The latter fifth century especially was an age of youth; young men were wise to concentrate on one time-consuming field.[30] In fact, a comparison of the records of athletics, politics and ostracism suggests that athletes who tried to convert their personal gymnastic success into political advancement suffered as a result. Ultimately, direct competitors stayed in their own areas. While the athletic ideal was encountering intellectual criticism, athletics were still popular and offered valuable publicity. Leaders turned to two options. Most common was indirect involvement in athletics as benefactor, sponsor or administrator—an association with the activity without committing oneself to preparation. The second option, less common and decreasing, was continued direct competition in equestrian events,

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[27] Connor, *New Politicians*, prosopographically and philologically examines the changing nature of fifth-century politics. He describes traditional politics (pp. 66-86, 134-36) as polycentric, with short-term coalitions bound by personal not ideological ties, and with the poorer classes generally uninvolved. With the fleet, class tensions, and a politically powerful *demos*, leaders sought mass support. New demagogic politics deemphasized the power of friendship groups, stressing mass allegiance and requiring skill in finance and rhetoric. The new politicians (pp. 151-59) were middlemen and manufacturers rather than landed aristocrats. As *neoploutoi* and *agoraioi* rather than *kaloikagathoi*, they were abused in comedy and slandered by the *gennetai*. Kleon, for instance, came from a non-noble but respectable family and his tactics found precedents in Pericles.

[28] On the rise of timocratic aspects in athletic competition in the fifth century, see above, p. 113ff.

[29] On evidence and criticisms of the trend to specialization, see above, Chap. V.

[30] Connor, *New Politicians*, 139-51, depicts this as a time of youthful leaders who had the wealth and leisure to gain needed financial, rhetorical and military skills. Note that these "new politicians" had similar backgrounds but were not the same individuals as the "new athletes" discussed above, p. 116.

investing wealth but not time or talent. A traditional political instrument of the aristocracy,[31] hippotrophy was still spectacular; but it was losing its political value under the democracy. After Alcibiades it became a politically negligible diversion of the *nouveaux riches.*

A survey of some Athenian athletes of the fifth century shows a decreasing correlation between direct participation in gymnastic contests and political leadership by mid-century. Leagros I (P100), apparently a youthful athlete in the late sixth century, was at least threatened with ostracism before his death as general in 465/4.[32] The pancratiast Hermolykos I (A25), distinguished at Mykale in 479, was the last member of a family of generals to be known for athletics.[33] The *periodonikes* Kallias Didymiou (A29) probably joined the conservative opposition to Pericles and faced ostracism in the 440s.[34] In the family of Thucydides Melesiou, the father (A45) went on from athletics to become a trainer, while his son (P92) probably had athletic training as a youth but concentrated on the political leadership of the conservatives until his ostracism in 444/3. After such ostracisms, and with the increasingly radical nature of democracy, athletes appear much less prominently in politics.[35] In the second half of the fifth century the sons of Thucydides, Melesias II (P102) and Stephanos (P110), were characterized as athletically talented but non-political. Plato remarks that the sons of Themistocles and Pericles were trained and talented in horsemanship and contests but were otherwise insignificant.[36] Autolykos (A12), the pancratiast who with his family received literary attention, was put to death by the Thirty to please a Spartan official. He seems to have been a public but not a politically ambitious person. After some direct interaction in the first half of the fifth century, the message of ostracisms and political trends was that gymnastic athletes should tend to their own affairs. Specialization in both areas was giving the same directive.

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[31] A Pronapes, probably the chariot victor and hipparch (A57), prosecuted Themistocles ca. 470.

[32] Although Leagros is not mentioned in connection with ostracism in literature, about fifty ostraca bear his name; see E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," *Semple Lectures*, Second Series (Cincinnati, 1973), 231. Leagros apparently was a contemporary of Themistocles (Ps. Them. *Ep.* 8 p. 747 Hercher), and may have been politically active; see Raubitschek, "Leagros," 164. After Leagros I, his family seems prominent but unathletic; a son was general in 441 and a daughter married Kallias III; see *APF* 9023, see 3027.

[33] Dieitrephes son of Euthoinos was a brother of Hermolykos and a candidate for ostracism around 460; Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 238-39.

[34] Ps. Andoc. 4.32 says Kallias was ostracized in spite of bringing glory to Athens. Ostraca suggest to Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 239-40, figs. 56-57, that Kallias had political ambitions and that there was a concerted campaign against him. Vanderpool and Moretti, *IAG*, 33-35, connect Kallias' dedication on the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 164) with political activity in opposition to Pericles.

[35] Pythodelos (A58) and Diophanes (A17-18), typically, are known only from limited, agonistic sources.

[36] Xanthippos (P105) and Paralos (P106); Kleophantos (P99).

Rather than personally wrestling or running, leading politicians were turning to the use of athletic settings, benefactions and policies. Themistocles (P91) apparently had athletic training in his youth but put his energies into a political and military career. The anecdote about Kynosarges places Themistocles as a wealthy *novus homo* recruiting unaligned political clients in an appropriate context.[37] After gaining fame against the Persians, Themistocles advertised his prestige at Olympia as a very conspicuous spectator. He thus undermined the attraction of his rival Kimon II and gained attention without exertion.

Although from a propertied family of victors, Kimon II did not compete in the Games, becoming instead a famous general and political leader.[38] He added to his reputation and following by the "politics of largesse"—extensions of generosity to Athens and Athenians which tended to create a sense of obligation in the beneficiaries and attracted favorable attention to the donor.[39] After his confrontation with Themistocles at Olympia, Kimon used his wealth to beautify the Academy and Agora for the city, as well as openly giving presents to citizens. Furthermore, he earned renown by returning the "bones of Theseus," thus founding the Theseia with its athletic components. In an age of flux, Kimon's high profile and his acclaimed generosity—often in ways relevant to athletics—helped reinforce his authority at Athens.

Kimon's politics of largesse lead naturally to the issue of liturgies, those obligatory civic services with honorific connotations. Like conspicuous consumption or willingness in paying subscriptions, the performance of a liturgy could be—but was not necessarily—parapolitical. Liturgies could be used, as Davies puts it, in "the active and artful build-up of a political investment in goodwill."[40] One might try to avoid the office by *antidosis*, or one might

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[37] Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 221-22, feels the anecdote about Kynosarges agrees with Themistocles' public image as a man who knew everyone's name (Plut. *Them.* 5.4): "Here, surely, we see a true politician at work at the grass roots level." Similarly, Vanderpool argues that ostraca indicate that Themistocles deliberately cultivated the use of the popular demotic rather than the snobbish patronymic. Davies, *APF*, 213-16 notes that, although the family had wealth and status, the *novus homo* image of Themistocles may have come from the rapid rise of the family. Davies and Plutarch (*Them.* 1.4, 22.2-3) see a political motive, namely rivalry with Kimon, in Themistocles' foundation of a telesterion at Phylae and a sanctuary to Artemis in Melite in Attica.

[38] On the significance of Kimon II (*APF* 8429) for Athens' facilities and festivals, see above, Chaps. II and III.

[39] Connor, *New Politicians*, 18-22. Policies like the distribution of food reached people too numerous or lowly to be controlled by traditional means. The politics of largesse were a voluntary and casual system, useful for elections and ostracisms but lacking structure and durability. Kimon's civic benefactions were effective but he lacked the philodemotic expertise of Pericles.

[40] Davies, *APF*, xvii-xviii. That the deployment of private wealth wielded influence in public affairs was a widespread, but not unchallenged, *topos* in oratory and philosophy; see *APF*, xviii n. 3-4.

undertake extra liturgies or perform a liturgy lavishly and therefore expect extra honors. Probably most holders of liturgies simply accepted the duty as imposed. The liturgical officer most relevant to athletics was the gymnasiarch, whose only certain responsibility in pre-Hellenistic Athens was the financing of torch races. Unfortunately, few gymnasiarchs are known—and then often only as names.[41] A gymnasiarchy was evidence of wealth, but, except in a few better documented cases, political overtones cannot be proven.[42]

Pericles, the consummate Athenian politician, outdid Kimon with a Pisistratid-like combination of self-preservation and civic advancement.[43] Aristotle and Plutarch remark that, since his private means were no match for Kimon's, Pericles gave the people their own money.[44] Rather than Kimon's personal gifts from private funds, Pericles used public—that is imperial—monies, as in the introduction of jury pay. The conservative opposition decried the marvellous festivals, the distribution of funds, and the building projects; but there is no doubt that such things contributed to the popularity of Pericles and athletics. As *epistates* of the Lyceum, Pericles apparently renovated the facility.[45] During the Periclean age *sitesis* for victors was reaffirmed and athletics were held in the Agora.[46] An apocryphal anecdote states that when Thucydides Melesiou defeated him in wrestling Pericles convinced the people that he had won.[47] There is an apt methodological contrast here between traditional direct victory and success by indirect means of self-presentation and persuasion. Pericles included a popular athletic policy in his plans for a resplendent Athens under his leadership.

Talented, rich and ambitious, Alcibiades III (A4) probably had athletic training in his youth but was not a gymnastic victor in the Games. After marrying Hipparete, the daughter of Hipponikos III, in the late 420s and

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[41] Pre-Hellenistic gymnasiarchs at Athens include: *APF* 9207, 15164, 7336 see 1395, 15418, 2760, 8823; broken and lost names: 462; pp. 394, 535, 573, 577 A27, 585 B25, 594 D8-10.

[42] The political use of gymnasiarchies by Alcibiades and Nikias is discussed below. The speaker of Lysias 21 (see *APF*, pp. 592-93 D7) apparently sought public confidence through lavish expenditures including a gymnasiarchy at a cost of 1200 drachmas (Lys. 21.3). The same may apply to the orator Andocides IV (*APF* 828), to Kallias Teleokles (*APF* 7480), and to Lycurgus' friend Xenokles (*APF* 11234).

[43] Arnheim, *Aristocracy*, 184, compares Pericles and Pisistratus as popular leaders in symbiotic relationships with their supporters, both leading and following.

[44] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 27.3-4; Plut. *Cim.* 10, *Per.* 9.2.

[45] See above, p. 79. To see Pericles' action at the Lyceum as part of routine building activity, as Boersma (*ABP*, 80-81) does, is to underestimate the man.

[46] On *sitesis*, see above, p. 145ff. The period of use of the starting line in the Agora coincides well with the Periclean building program after his first generalship in 445; see above, p. 60ff.

[47] Plut. *Per.* 8.5; on Thucydides' opposition to Pericles: Frank J. Frost, "Pericles, Thucydides, Son of Melesias, and Athenian Politics Before the War," *Hist.* 13 (1964): 385-99; Hans D. Meyer, "Thukydides Melesiou und die oligarchische Opposition gegen Perikles," *Hist.* 16 (1967): 141-54.

entering politics, he followed his forefather, Alcibiades I (A3), and his new in-laws in turning to chariot-racing.[48] His unprecedented Olympic successes of 416 were achieved not by talent and dedication but by wealth and guile, involving multiple entries, hired drivers and a stolen team.[49] Furthermore, he applauded his own wins with lavish displays at Olympia, an epinician by Euripides and works of art at Athens. Alcibiades sought and won more than the crown of victory.[50]

In the debate over the Sicilian expedition, Alcibiades confronted Nikias, the wealthy conservative and military leader. Nikias used public munificence to compensate for his lack of demagogic skills; both he and Alcibiades could claim gymnasiarchies and other liturgies.[51] In a speech reported by Thucydides, Alcibiades cleverly plays on the theme of mutual assistance between city and citizen, of civic service meriting support.[52] Alcibiades claims that he has a better right to command because his extravagance and hippotrophy brought fame to himself and the city.[53] He claimed that custom regards displays like his Olympic success as honorable and as connoting power, that his deployment of private funds benefitted both the city and himself, and that he therefore need not regard himself as merely equal to other citizens.

The speech is that of a cunning politician in a transitional period in Athenian political history. Alcibiades appeals to tradition and to the *polis*-mentality, but history shows that his primary concerns were personal and not patriotic. His political attractiveness and resources were multidimensional. Athenians resented but admired his youthful combination of the tactics of family and friendship, the politics of largesse and display, and the prestige

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[48] As well as a chariot victor, Alcibiades I (A3) was Kleisthenes' colleague in the expulsion of the Pisistratids (Isoc. 16.26). Alcibiades III received a dowry of ten talents for marrying Hipparete and was promised ten more on the birth of a child (Plut. *Alcib.* 8.2; Ps. Andoc. 4.13-14). Alcibiades III's son's contention about the social background of gymnastic athletes (Isoc. 16.32-34) was a rationalization of his father's ruthless and effective grasp for politically marketable honors.

[49] The disputed chariot team was that of Teisias II (A63), a general and politician, whose desire to compete at Olympia may have been politically motivated.

[50] The facts are well known; on the epinician, see above, p. 130f. It is generally agreed that Alcibiades derived political benefit from his victories; Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 130-41; Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, 142-44; Finley and Pleket, *Olympic Games*, 102.

[51] Plut. *Nic.* 3.1-2 ascribes a political motive to Nikias' choregic wins (cf. Pl. *Grg.* 472a) and his gymnasiarchy; see *APF* 10808. The parapolitical nature of Alcibiades' liturgies, including a gymnasiarchy, is shown by his son's declaration of the lavishness of the performances (Isoc. 16.35).

[52] Thuc. 6.16.1-2; see Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, 4: 246-47. On Alcibiades' conception of patriotism, see N. M. Pusey, "Alcibiades and τὸ φιλόπολι," *Harv. Stud.* 51 (1940): 215-31.

[53] The same argument, that hippotrophy is a civic service, is found in Isoc. 16.33 and Lysias 19.63.

of Panhellenic victory.[54] The whole was compounded with popular politics and oratory.[55] Such a political campaign was effective in this period, but Alcibiades' example was not forgotten or repeated.[56]

For several reasons, the former unity and vitality of Athenian civic life deteriorated after the Peloponnesian War into compartmentalization and disaffection. The political mentality and patriotism of citizens became the economic mentality and egotism of class-conscious individuals.[57] Social life became private and civic life was segmented. Decimated and disillusioned, the old aristocracy largely withdrew from public life including politics and the Games. New, wealthy, but not pedigreed families formed a new social élite and entered the ruling class.[58] This was an age of specialization: Athens needed experts in finance and war, and athletic success in gymnastic events presupposed commitment and training.[59] Specialization and a changing ethos meant that men lacked the time and motivation to combine serious athletic and political success. As well, the indirect use of athletics was undermined by economic hardships and the growing institutionalization (as through the *ephebeia*) of Athenian athletics. Largesse and the use of personal funds for display continued in the fourth century but as a means to social status and security rather than to political leadership. Direct or indirect

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[54] As ingredients in Alcibiades' appeal to the *demos*, Plutarch (*Alc.* 16.4) lists his liturgies, donations, munificence, ancestry, oratory, physical strength and beauty, and military skill. Alcibiades proposed at least one decree concerning Kynosarges (Ath. 6.234e; *IG* I^2 129) but the evidence is too scant for conclusions.

[55] Connor, *New Politicians*, 140, sees Alcibiades as a master of the new politics. Plutarch (*Alc.* 10.3) claims that Alcibiades had friends and followers but counted mostly on his oratory to influence the masses.

[56] Ps. Andocides (4.25) later condemned Alcibiades' use of his Olympic fame. Alcibiades was pictured and remembered as a negative example, the leader of dissolute youth: Ar. *Ach.* 716; Thuc. 6.15.3-4; Lys. 14.18,25-28,39,41-42. The memory of Syracuse itself was enough to taint the memory of Alcibiades' use of hippotrophy, and furthermore his success simply could not be surpassed (Isoc. 16.34).

[57] The Sophistic inclination towards rationalism and moral relativism, the disasters of the late fifth century, and the pressing economic concerns of the fourth, all helped change attitudes toward politics. Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 337-59, contrasts Old and New Comedy to show the rise of individualistic materialism. Also see Austin and Vidal-Naquet, *Social and Economic History*, 119-20.

[58] Enemies depicted the *nouveaux riches* as conspicuous consumers, living in sumptuous private houses, profiting from public graft but performing no service for the state. For example: Lys. 27.10; Dem. 3.21, 23.207-08.

[59] Specialization in politics began in the fifth century and was entrenched by the fourth, promoting the abdication of the *demos*; Connor, *New Politicians*, 175-93. The diversification of society meant a need for more particular skills and greater permanency of functions, most notably in military and political affairs. Oratory was especially valuable in this "Lawyers' Republic"; see Mossé, *Decline*, 21-32. On fourth-century politics and the specialized and divergent functions of *rhetores* and *strategoi*, see S. Perlman, "The Politicians in the Athenian Democracy of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Athenaeum* 41 (1963): 327-55; or M.H. Hansen, "The Athenian 'Politicians,' 403-322 B.C.," *GRBS* 24 (1983): 33-56.

involvement in athletics no longer constituted a normal or effective means to political power.[60]

The juxtaposition of fourth-century Athenian gymnastic victors and political leadership shows no consistent pattern of interaction.[61] Major participation in one area seems to have precluded the other. Aristokrates II had been a general during the Peloponnesian War but his nephew Epichares (A23) is known only as the Olympic boys' *stadion* victor of 396. None in a series of Athenian Olympic *stadion* victors played a known political role: Minos (A47) in 400; Sosippos (A62) in 388; Pythostratos (A59) in 368; Phokides (A69) in 364; Aristolochos (A10) in 344; and Antikles (A8) in 340. Admittedly the sources are limited but they are better than for earlier periods. More is known about Dioxippos (A20), the Olympic pancratiast and famous strongman, but there is no record of political involvement. Significantly, Athens sent the orator and politician Hyperides to Olympia in 322 to defend the pentathlete Kallippos (A32) on a charge of bribery. The Athenians may have desired an acquittal and the victory to bolster civic prestige in a time of uncertainty. At any rate, the athlete and the political leader were separate and distinct types in this era.

Horse and chariot-racing were less prevalent in the fourth century, no longer an aristocratic route to influence after the excesses of Alcibiades. Adopted occasionally by families of generals and orators after they had gained political influence by other means, hippotrophy may have had some political overtones but it seems more suggestive of private display and status consciousness. A general in 390/89, Chabrias (A71) was notorious for his conspicuous consumption including a Pythian chariot win in 374 after his military career. Timokrates II (A65), Olympic victor in the *synoris* in 352, was a wealthy associate of Androtion attacked by Demosthenes; but his political involvement was long past by the time of his victory.[62] The famous displays of the *parvenu* Demades (A13) included an Olympic win in 328. A leading politician and a mediator between Athens and Macedon, Demades gained influence through his oratory much more than his hippotrophy.

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[60] Largesse and the use of personal funds for display continued with the liturgical system in the fourth century but became a means to status and security rather than political leadership. While earlier aristocrats like Kimon and Alcibiades used munifence *aggressively* as a means to power, in the fourth century men avoided public affairs (and boasted of it, Lys. 19.55; Ps. Dem. 58.65) or used displays *defensively* as demonstrations of their merits if prosecuted in the courts (Lys. 25.12-13; cf. Isoc. 16.32-34).

[61] Lists of fourth-century Athenian "politicians" compiled by M.H. Hansen, "*Rhetores* and *Strategoi* in Fourth-Century Athens," *GRBS* 24 (1983): 151-80, and J. Tolbert Roberts, "Athens' So-Called Unofficial Politicians," *Hermes* 110 (1982): 354-62, have markedly fewer correlations with figures of athletic significance than in earlier periods.

[62] Son of the prominent general, Phokos II (A70) is know only for his *apobates* win.

Demetrios of Phaleron (A14), a *nouveau riche* with equestrian pretensions, was an orator and statesman wielding power as the representative of Macedon after Athens lost its independence.[63] Through the fourth century, horse-racing was still a symbol of wealth but it was no longer viable as a claim to leadership.[64]

A final and key figure is Lycurgus, despite whose efforts the fate of the Athenians slipped from their hands. An effective orator and administrator, Lycurgus included the Lyceum and a Panathenaic Stadium, as well as the *ephebeia* and a reorganization of festivals, in his program of revitalization.[65] However, his use of donations and his office was significantly different from the indirect use of athletics by politicians in the fifth century. Already in power because of his financial and political expertise, Lycurgus turned his attention to the ongoing, institutionalized athletic life of Athens, not as a means to gain or keep power, but as a responsibility of his office as civic administrator.[66] In the pre-Hellenistic generation of ca. 350-322 athletics and political leadership were divergent facets of Athenian life.

In retrospect, from the seventh to the fourth century, with the rise, zenith and eclipse of Athens as an independent, powerful city, the interrelationship between athletics and political leadership changed and collapsed. In archaic Athens aristocratic direct competition in gymnastic and equestrian contests was closely aligned with direct political advancement, especially of families. The old unity of *kalokagathia* became diversified in the age of democracy and empire, but athletics remained politically influential among the citizenry. Indirect involvement in athletics as patron or administrator, or success in equestrian events, had significant effects until the end of the fifth century. While Pericles represents the last use of an athletic *policy*, Alcibiades

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[63] Although Davies, *APF*, pp. 108-09, feels he deliberately adopted a pattern of parapolitical expenditure and display, the political success of Demetrios derived from his oratory and pro-Macedonian stance.

[64] In the late fourth century hippotrophy came to be criticized by orators (Lycurg. *Leoc.* 139; Dem. *De Cor.* 18.320) as an example of conspicuous consumption and "unpatriotic materialism": J.E. Atkinson, "Macedon and Athenian Politics in the Period 338 to 323 B.C.," *Acta Classica* 24 (1981): 41, 44-45.

[65] Michael B. Walbank, "Regulations for an Athenian Festival," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 173-82, suggests that an inscription (Agora Inv. No. I 7063) contains regulations for the festival of Amphiaros at Oropos in 329/8 and represents an example of the care devoted by Lycurgus to religious matters in Athens and Athenian-controlled territory.

[66] Lycurgus represents the trend toward the importance of economic issues and financial magistracies; he followed statesmen and financial experts like Kallistratos in the 370s and 60s and Eubolos in the 350s and 40s. As Hansen, "*Rhetores* and *Strategoi*," 157, notes, fourth-century Athens created important financial offices: "The fifth-century merging of *rhetores* and *strategoi* seems to have been replaced, in the period of 355-322, by a merging of *rhetores* and elected treasurers." Lycurgus' post as Treasurer of the Financial Administration anticipates the financial officials of the Hellenistic monarchs. See Mossé, *Decline*, 80-84; or Austin and Vidal-Naquet, *Social and Economic History*, 144-45.

represents the last use of Panhellenic *victory* as a means to attain or retain political power. In the fourth century specialization in both athletics and politics demanded an individual's full commitment to one of two different lifestyles.[67] Conspicuous but decreasing, hippotrophy, without its political implications, was adopted by new groups. Political leaders were preoccupied with financial and military matters, and most Athenians concentrated on private concerns. Although athletics remained an integral part of civic life, direct or indirect involvement no longer had overtones for political leadership.

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[67] Phoenix's creed for Achilles had been to be both "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (Hom. *Il.* 9.443), but by the fourth century Plato's *Republic* invokes a utopia of specialists.

CONCLUSION

ATHLETICS AND THE CITY-STATE OF ATHENS

This investigation of the historical development and significance of athletics in ancient Athens has used a collection of scattered sources to provide a fresh perspective on Athenian history. Such evidence and its analysis show that the histories of Athens and its athletics were significantly interrelated. The study has responded to a need to appreciate more fully the importance athletics, in addition to politics, drama and other areas, in Athenian history. It also cautions the student of ancient athletics to be wary of appealing generalizations from limited and diverse evidence.

At Athens the sites, circumstances, prizes, participants, and changing nature of athletics prove that this state and this area of activity affected the life and character of each other. Unlike the homes of the great Panhellenic Games, Athens was much more than a religious sanctuary or oracular centre. Classical Athens was a dynamic city-state usually at or near the centre of Greek history. As a public and popular activity, Athenian athletics developed in relationship with public life, urbanization, the social élite, and civic administration and finance. While athletics were of religious and cultural importance to all Greeks, at Athens they also influenced—and were influenced themselves by—the civic and political experience of the Athenians.

The rise, expansion and changing nature of athletics in pre-Hellenistic Athens were examined through the discussion of material in six sections: the rise of athletics at Athens; the festivals and events of civic athletics; the athletic facilities; the athletes; critics and criticisms; and athletics and political leadership. It became apparent throughout that the histories of the city and its athletics shared significant stages and developments. Five general periods emerged: aristocratic, pre-Solonian Athens (ca. 776-594), with Homeric-style, pre-civic athletics; the sixth century advance of the city (ca. 594-490), including the rise and expansion of civic athletics; the age of empire and democracy (ca. 490-404), when athletics thrive with civic prosperity; the age of recovery (ca. 404-355), during which the athletic life of the city continues; and Athens eclipsed (ca. 355-322), when athletics take on what might be called a proto-Hellenistic character. The following integrates various observations according to these periods.

In the pre-Solonian era (ca. 776-594) Athens and athletics were both gaining increased prominence. Early Athens was an aristocratic state controlled by rival, internationally connected, baronial families with conflicting ambitions. The spontaneity, the informal arrangements, and the physically oriented

arete of Homeric athletics probably characterize early Athenian practice.[1] Early but uncertain indications of athletics, possibly held in the Agora, suggest connections to heroic and funerary cults. It is not merely a coincidence that Athens' first Olympic victory in 696 followed upon the rise of the *polis* itself and upon the completion of the process of *synoecism*, slightly preceding the term of Kreon in 682/1 as the earliest known Athenian archon.[2] As the city developed historically, so did its athletics. Victors in this period seem to have been men of wealth and standing; Kylon represents the growth of both athletics and political turmoil. Aristocrats probably held local cultic ceremonies and games as well as competing elsewhere; possibly they designated naturally suitable sites in their regions for occasional athletic use. Although Athens was the home of athletes and athletic activity, athletics were a clan or regional rather than a civic matter. "Civic" in fact has little applicability to this era of Athenian history, for the organs of state and the sense of community were still very limited.

In the period from Solon's archonship to the battle of Marathon (ca. 594-490) Athens endured crises and factionalism, appealed to Solon for relief, and prospered under a tyranny. Influenced by its internal maturation, as well as by external Greek trends, the state advanced from unofficial to civically oriented and administered athletics. Athens first had to become a viable political entity before civic concern and influence could expand to encompass athletics.

The reforms of Solon aided the rule of law and the promotion of civic consciousness, thus contributing to the political and athletic life of Athens.[3] Solon directed official attention to the growing activity of athletics by legislating rewards for victors and possibly by codifying other social laws relating to athletics. Through his introduction of the role of the city and law into athletics, Solon helped prepare the way for civic athletics.

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[1] See Hom. *Od.* 8.145-48 and above, p. 11ff.

[2] A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State* (Cambridge, 1977), 1-37, defines *polis* minimally as "an autonomous political unit, incorporating a town and its territory as inseparable parts of the unit." Using the evidence of graves and population estimates, he presents the Attic *synoecism* as a long process complete finally in the late eighth century; also see Steven Diamant, "Theseus and the Unification of Attica," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 38-47. Furthermore, Snodgrass argues for the existence of a monumental temple to a patron deity as an important archaeological criterion for the emergence of a *polis*, and he accepts a dating of ca. 700 for the early Athena temple on the Athenian Acropolis. On the origin of the annual archonship, see Hignett, *Athenian Constitution*, 40-46. Miller, *Prytaneion*, 52-53, connects the appearance of a *prytaneion* at Athens to the establishment of the aristocratic oligarchy in the eighth century. Apparently, then, Athens in the eighth century underwent significant changes physically, politically and athletically.

[3] Austin and Vidal-Naquet, *Social and Economic History*, 49-53, obviously have Solon in mind when suggesting criteria for the emergence of a *polis* as a political and economic entity. They mention codification of laws, improvement of the social and economic position of persons, increased community consciousness, and the development of the notion of citizenship and non-citizenship.

After Solon's work, adolescent Athens moved on to the systematic organization of athletic festivals. The exact circumstances of the reorganization of the appropriately named Panathenaea remain uncertain, but the introduction of arguably "civic" athletics at Athens dates approximately to 566 and an association with Pisistratus seems very likely. As tyrant, Pisistratus reinforced his own position by fostering the anti-aristocratic, patriotic influence of civic athletics and popular cults.[4] Pisistratid policies brought the political centralization and unification that encouraged civic athletics (rather than the earlier athletics of clan and cult) to flourish. By the end of the tyranny various lesser and local cults and festivals had been nationalized and the Panathenaic program and administration were well established. With symbolic yet valuable prizes, an ethnocentric festival yet open to all Greeks, the Panathenaea combined aspects of the Periodos and of local festivals. The prize amphorae themselves aptly symbolize the purpose and nature of Athenian civic athletics, associating both the popular activity and the divine patroness of the city. Both city and activity benefitted from the association.

Early scraps of evidence suggest that athletic facilities improved as Athens and its athletics advanced together in this era. Athens' gymnasia developed from pre-architectural sites into simple architectural arrangements, still probably no more than specified areas, perhaps defined by some form of *peribolos*, with limited arrangements for exercising and bathing. This development apparently owed less to military influences than scholarship has contended.[5] The growing popularity of athletics, aided by the rise of athletic festivals, and the patronage of the Pisistratids seem more likely factors. From the evidence of cults, topography, the *dromos* inscriptions, and ultimately from the fifth-century starting line, this study further noted the early and continued use of the Agora as an athletic facility. The architectural development of stadia as separate facilities, however, came only much later.

The list of known athletes in this period clearly shows the dominance of the *gennetai* and their enthusiasm for horse and chariot-racing. Athletic success was valued as a means to fame and authority in this still quite aristocratic society. Even while the Pisistratids ruled, agonistic aristocrats like the Alkmeonidai contended personally and directly in athletics and politics seeking glory and influence. Sublimating overt hostility through competition in the Games, these nobles won and proclaimed victories at home and abroad. The cases of Pisistratus and Kimon I demonstrate the potential of athletics

[4] *Ibid.*, 70. Pisistratid policies, such as building projects, the fostering of religious festivals and popular cults, and the development of currency, promoted community consciousness while serving the interests of both Athens and the tyranny.

[5] The case at Athens suits a criticism of Delorme's general theory in an archaeological survey of non-Athenian evidence by Glass, "Palaistra and Gymnasium," 55.

as a political device. Physical superiority and a fine stable, like *philoi* and landed wealth, were sources of social status and political influence.

Lyric poetry, dedications, vase-paintings, and the number of attested athletes show that athletics were flourishing. Civic athletics now had a sound official basis and Athenian leaders sought to foster and utilize this activity. Depending on his station, the Athenian citizen competed or watched, and the glory of Athenian athletes and games promoted the state as a political community.

Fifth-century Athens (ca. 490-404), the Athens of democracy, empire and Pericles, was an ideal home for civic athletics.[6] Athletics helped spread the fame of the city for its festivals, horses and "heavy" athletes, even as the prosperity of Athens via the empire helped finance and extend the city's athletic life. Athletics were receiving even more public attention and support, but they also faced internal changes and some vocal critics.

The number and variety of Athenian athletic festivals, as well as the wealth and administrative effort expended on preparations and prizes, show the involvement of the Athenians in athletics from the highest official to the lowliest spectator. The history of Athenian athletic festivals reveals that leaders followed a policy—well introduced by Pisistratus—of adapting and redirecting lesser and local cults to give them a national focus and appeal. This applied also to a continuing tradition of games associated with hero and funerary cults, notably the Theseia and Epitaphia. The empire and the festivals and projects it helped finance met with opposition; and religious piety may have diminished or altered, as with the adoption of the cult of Bendis. Nevertheless, official games and cults were maintained and expanded as essential rituals of democratic Athens, as occasions when citizens gathered and appreciated the value of the community.[7]

Athens' numerous and famous athletic facilities formed a topographically and functionally prominent part of the state, receiving embellishment and increasing architectural expression in this age of energetic public building. Although occasional and informal, the racecourse in the Agora near the Altar of the Twelve Gods symbolizes the integration of athletics, religion and civic life. Along with architectural evolution and functional needs, the political ambitions of men like Themistocles, Kimon and Pericles influenced the growth and character of Athens' three major gymnasia. Praised by popular leaders and attacked by conservatives, public athletic facilities flourished. The effect of the Sophists has been exaggerated, largely due to

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[6] F.J. Frost, "Tribal Politics and the City State," *AJAH* 1 (1976): 70-75, comments on Athens' development from a tribal to a civic society (72): "During the Pentecontaetia, civic consciousness came to full maturity."

[7] Fisher, *Social Values in Classical Athens*, 26.

Aristophanes; life was becoming more mutifaceted but gymnastics did not cease nor were the gymnasia and *palaestrae* empty.

Leading men of fifth-century Athens were involved with athletics and politics but their social origins and the nature of their involvement were changing in line with developments in Athenian society and culture, especially in the latter half of the century. The predominance of the aristocracy and of equestrian events gave way as "new athletes" appeared, most notably in gymnastic events. These "new athletes," like the "new politicians," acquired the wealth, leisure and inclination for competing in athletics and politics from non-traditional sources. Slandered by the old guard, such newcomers nevertheless were of respectable birth and belonged economically to the upper class. Despite public gymnasia and civic rewards for victors, no revolutionary popularization of athletics took place at Athens. Although a growing factor in politics, the masses remained attentive observers at the games. Athenian athletics, obviously and especially equestrian competition, remained demonstrably élitist rather than egalitarian in practice. The significant development was a shifting from an élitism of birth to one of wealth.

This was a time of complex and changing political activity through which democracy further emerged. With the demanding and non-complementary preparations needed for major success in either athletics or politics in this era, leading statesmen tended to avoid personal athletic competition as a means to public influence. Participation directly in both areas was still possible, witness Kallias Didymiou, but it was decreasing. After Themistocles showed the value of athletic sites as public forums, politicians approached athletics indirectly as benefactors or administrators. They thus gained a popular and positive association with the city and *demos* (rather than the family and region) and avoided the time and pains of rigorous athletic training. The indirect approach was used by Kimon II with private funds, but the popular politician Pericles perfected the method with public funds. Chariot-racing brought fame to the wealthy victor and was still an alternative route to public exposure, but Alcibiades flaunted and exhausted this as an effective means to public support.

The attitudes of Pericles and Alcibiades to athletics, the democratic popularity and extravagance of festivals, and the requirements and results of technical athletic training all compounded earlier attacks on athletics by intellectuals. Critics show that the old physical ideal was becoming intellectualized and diversified, but modern scholars have overreacted to the criticisms and the demise of the narrow athletic ideal. Literary conventions now included the athlete as a physical caricature, but writers could choose from either critical or laudatory *topoi* depending on the nature and purpose of the work being written. In fact, the critics themselves testify to the spread and popularity of civic athletics. Some critics attacked athletics as part of a

system of empire and democracy regarded either as in decline or as imperfect in principle. In terms of athletic practice, however, the critics had no appreciable effect. The renewal of *sitesis* for victors in Periclean Athens, as a gesture of civic appreciation for an accomplishment aiding both citizen and state, reflected broad support for the practice if not the ideal of athletics. Athletic traditions, like festivals, facilities, and rewards, were essential to the glorious image of which Athenians were very proud in the fifth century.

In the period after the Peloponnesian War (ca. 404-355) Athens was busy recovering from the war and attempting to reassert its power. In this age of orators and generals, Athens revived economically but never regained its former position in the Greek world. The athletic life of the city endured, and some late fifth-century trends continued, but athletics were less significant in politics. Although the state lacked the resources for extravagance, and the athletic ideal was challenged further by philosophical criticism, there were indications of expanded programs and participation. Institutionalization and public popularity insured that athletics were retained as a visible, prominent element in Athens' calendar, topography and identity.[8]

In this period the number of athletic events, if perhaps not festivals, increased, and the Panathenaic prize list of ca. 380 reveals a broad program with three age groupings. Rather than in an earlier era when one might expect it, military influences, such as that of the cavalry and *ephebeia*, became more obvious in Athenian events. Despite the decrease in known equestrian victors and in athletic scenes painted on non-prize vases, the official program apparently was fully operational. With the variety and diversification of life at Athens, it is possible that athletics appear to represent a relatively less significant activity than before, but in real terms athletics were not in "decline."

Architecturally, Athens' athletic facilities give little indication of significant alteration in this period. The rise of schools of philosophy in association with gymnasia, along with changes in educational and social life, however, suggest that gymnasia were developing functionally. The role of gymnasia as educational and social centres was growing, but as yet this necessitated no physical changes in the facilities. Elsewhere, at Athens' stadium (and hippodrome?) informal, impermanent arrangements still seem to have sufficed.

Available information on Athenian athletes at this time indicates continuing participation and élitism. Financial difficulties may have influenced the decrease of horse-racing or the persistence of heavy athletics. Apparently coming from the new social élite, athletes tended to be *nouveaux riches* who

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[8] Isocrates' praise of Athens and its culture (*Paneg.* 50.45-46) notes the number and variety of Athenian contests and their great prizes.

did little beyond sport. The funds for training and travel remained private and familial; available evidence does not indicate the dependency of athletes on income from victories. New families and odd names appear in the context of athletic specialization, but there is no evidence of sponsorship of rising athletes by individuals or the city in pre-Hellenistic Athens. If "professionalism" existed in this era, it was in terms of training and expertise rather than occupation. Athletes appear to have been respectable citizens, often characterized in literature and society by their athletic experience.

This was an age of *haute bourgeoisie*, of economic and private rather than political and public concerns. New upper-class families, often with members conspicuous in war or oratory, took over the former preeminence of the old aristocratic families. The collective ethic of the old *polis* was being replaced by individualism and apathy; wealth and peace were preferred to glory and public life.[9] Maintaining athletic traditions was still a civic concern, but competition and involvement seem to have changed from a means to public influence into a private matter of self-display and status.

The realms of athletics and political leadership diverged in this period as men no longer competed directly or indirectly in both areas. Intellectual critics were not the cause of this development; their continuing condemnations of excessive rewards and training were redundant and ineffectual. Athens' preoccupation with foreign affairs and finance, the self-perpetuating institutionalization of athletics, and the technical and temporal demands of athletic or political success—all these in part may explain why athletics were continuing but ceased to be a means to political power.

In period five (ca. 355-322) Athens had to relinquish hopes of hegemony because of losses in the Social War. The city revived for a time under Lycurgus' care but finally lost its independence to Macedon. In the history of Athenian athletics this period is better characterized as proto-Hellenistic than as a degeneration of classical traditions.

Paradoxically, at Athens athletics seemed to have thrived even as the political entity faltered. Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* details how thoroughly athletics were institutionalized and carefully administered. Still a major part of civic life, athletics increasingly involved Athens' educational and military system rather than its civic political rivalries. The development of the *ephebeia* under Lycurgus affected the Theseia, and military and cavalry influences were reflected in the Olympieia and in contests like the hoplite race. Athens remained distinctive for the number of its festivals and for its unusual and spectacular events including the *apobates* contest and numerous torch races.

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[9] In fourth-century Athens moral confusion and religious impiety contributed to a code of self-indulgence and pleasure: Mossé, *Athens in Decline*, 17-20.

As elsewhere in late classical Greece, Athenian athletic facilities gained monumental stature in this era, especially through the projects of Lycurgus. The Lyceum was enhanced or expanded, possibly to accomodate increasing educational, philosophical and social functions. In Hellenistic times Athens' gymnasia were to be architectural complexes housing much more than athletics. Even entering the Hellenistic Agora, gymnasia were to be indispensable components in the physical form of this *polis* as a centre of philosophy and culture. The Lycurgan construction of the Panathenaic Stadium may represent a trend to specialization of facilities or a social shift to increasing spectatorship—developments more Hellenistic than classical. Although Lycurgus aimed at the glory of Periclean Athens, his methods and his administration were proto-Hellenistic.[10]

In this age of financial and private concerns, Athenian athletes still appear to come from comfortable families, and there was even a revival of equestrian victories as *nouveaux riches* apparently sought social status. The career of Dioxippos may indicate that financial professionalism in athletics was not far off. In the Hellenistic age the route to athletic success via the ephebic system would remain élitist, but the route via sponsorship and athletic guilds was to attract lower-class individuals seeking a livelihood.

As Macedon overshadowed Athens, people seem to have pursued or watched athletics for private, selfish motives; no longer were athletics a means to political influence.[11] Criticisms of the excessive training and popularity of athletics continued, and would continue, like the very trends they denounced. There now seems to be more basis for the charge that athletes contributed little to the city as we encounter the anomalous situation of Kallippos, the pentathlete accused of bribery. Rather than the athlete aiding the city, Athens sent Hyperides to defend the athlete.

As well as raising questions of criteria and relevance, the conventional image of decline in athletics has not improved our understanding of how Athenian athletics experienced significant transformations by the late fourth century. Admittedly, the narrow athletic ideal lost its earlier attraction, and the morality and motivations of athletes changed. Yet, technically, athletic performances should have improved with specialization. The social shift from an élitism of birth to one of wealth can be seen as progress or decline, depending on one's predispositions. Even acknowledging the proliferation of sources over time, the numbers of willing Athenian participants and

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[10] Not an imperialistic *strategos* like Pericles, Lycurgus was a financial administrator concerned with defence and economic prosperity. His funds came from the city and wealthy individuals, not from subject states.

[11] Writing after 322, Theophrastus in his *Characters* portrays the boastful aristocrat (*Char.* 25) as proud of his hippotrophy and liturgies, and the man of petty ambition (*Char.* 21) with a private *palaestra*.

spectators seems to have increased. The list of fourth-century Athenian victories at Olympia indicates success not failure. Athletic facilities became grander, programs were elaborate, and games and prizes were maintained as expressions of Athenian pride in the past glories and present beauties of the city.[12] Athletics ceased to be a source of political influence, but real political power no longer rested in Athens. Ironically, the fame and practice of Athenian athletics fared better than the city itself: they remained a very significant element in the civic life of a *polis* which itself suffered politically and militarily in the Hellenistic era.[13] Perhaps antiquarian interest in the legacy of Athens was a factor, or perhaps the longevity of Athenian athletics can be credited to the planning of Lycurgus.

It should now be clear that the interrelationship between the histories of Athens and its athletics is significant and continuous. From the eighth to the fourth century, as well as evolving internally toward increased training and specialization, Athenian athletics were influenced by developments at Athens such as the rise of civic consciousness and the policies of leaders. In turn, athletics affected the topography, festive calendar, administration and intellectual concerns of Athens. When Solon wanted to quiet the state, when Pisistratus and Pericles wanted to advance the state, when Themistocles and Kimon wanted to lead the state, and ultimately when Lycurgus wanted to revitalize the state, they paid attention to the athletic life of Athens. The reason is simple. Athletics were a public, integral, and potentially unifying or disruptive element in the civic experience of the Athenians.

Overall the relationship between Athens and athletics was constructive and harmonious. The Athenian as victor, benefactor or spectator gained glory, recognition or pleasure; and the city benefitted from flattering festivals and facilities, and from an enhanced civic consciousness. In late classical times Athens and athletics seem to anticipate Hellenistic trends, but athletics "declined" (or became less "civic") only in the sense that all aspects of Athenian life can be said to have declined in the absence of power and independence. Altered but active, athletics remained a vital part of the glory, identity and legacy of Athens.[14]

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[12] Ehrenberg, *People of Aristophanes*, 368-72, observes that the fourth-century deterioration of Athens as a political power and a moral community went hand in hand with an increase in prosperity and a rise in the standard of technical and intellectual civilization.

[13] W.S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (Oxford, 1911; reprint ed., New York, 1969), 212-13, characterizes athletics, like drama and music, in Hellenistic Athens as specialized, exclusive and artificial, having lost its spontaneous, popular and natural character from classical times. In other words, athletics remained active and "civic," but civic life overall had less vitality.

[14] B. Nagy, "A Late Panathenaic Document," *AncW* 3 (1980): 107-111, asserts the resilience of Athenian traditions and suggests that the Panathenaea (the procession if not necessarily the games), unlike the other great festivals of Greece, appears to have continued even into the fifth century A.D.

APPENDIX A

ATHLETIC, EQUESTRIAN AND OTHER EVENTS

Since the Panathenaea had the largest program of contests and it is the best documented of the Athenian athletic festivals, most events are known primarily from the Panathenaea; but the existence of civic athletic events in other festivals also should be noted. A traditional approach has been to apply the athletic programs of fourth-century and Hellenistic Athens to the earlier ages, using the argument of conservatism in athletics as in religion. This approach, unfortunately, limits the investigation of historical developments within the athletic activity of the Athenians. Therefore this study collects and collates bits of evidence indicating a possible *terminus a quo* and the continuing history of individual events.[1]

Panathenaic prize amphorae give approximate dates for the inclusion of specific events in the civic athletic program, and other literary and epigraphical testimonia indicate elements in civic athletics. The original program of the Panathenaea of 566 is uncertain, as are the dates of the introduction of particular events in this and other festivals. However, by establishing the earliest sound dates for the existence of various events in civic athletics, one can suggest changes or consistency in the athletic program. Comments on general trends in the history of the events as indicated by the corpus of non-Panathenaic Attic pottery will be integrated when useful. The approach is historical rather than technical, seeking to discover influences on Athenian athletics and to establish the earliest known existence of events in one or more festivals as part of Athenian civic athletics.

Gymnastic Events

Footraces (στάδιον, δίαυλος, δόλιχος)

The footrace was an early and prominent event in Greek athletics, and Olympiads came to be dated by the victor in the *stadion* or straight race. Among the earliest Panathenaic prize amphorae depicting gymnastic events is the Halle amphora by a painter near Lydos of ca. 560 with a scene of the

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[1] For general and technical treatments of various events, see the appropriate sections of Jüthner-Brein, vol. 2; Gardiner, *AAW*, *GASF*; Harris, *GAA*; and Patrucco, *Sport*. On the iconography of gymnastic events in Greek art, see Legakis, "Archaic Art." Equestrian events are less adequately treated, but see the discussions in Harris, *SGR*, 151-72; and Patrucco, *Sport*, 373-402. J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), only marginally covers equestrian competitions and does not treat chariot-racing.

men's *stadion*.[2] The *stadion*, *diaulos* (double *stadion*) and *dolichos* (long race) are all known from sixth-century amphorae, suggesting that these were early Panathenaic events; and these races continued to appear on prize vases in the fifth and fourth centuries.[3] Remarks in Plato's *Laws* suggest that all three races were held in the fourth century.[4] The *stadion* for boys appears on Panathenaics from the mid-fifth century onward,[5] and *IG* II^2 2311.22 lists this event (but not a boys' *diaulos* or *dolichos*, which Olympia also lacked). The portion of *IG* II^2 2311 listing men's events is missing but probably recorded these three men's footraces.

In vase-paintings the footrace was a stock scene presumably popular with purchasers who were athletes or interested in athletics. Representations on non-prize vases are numerous since the scene was highly adaptable to different vase types and would be attractive to the export market. Early sound representations of the footrace in Greek art appear in the late seventh century, and the earliest Attic representations appear ca. 570-550.[6] The greatest number of Greek representations are found on Attic black-figure vases; and in red-figure runners usually appear in *palaestra* scenes where they generally are depicted singly rather than in a race, perhaps for artistic reasons or because the context is one of practice.[7] Webster calls attention to a "remarkable decline" in scenes of runners: 52 in black-figure, 14 in early, 7 in late archaic, one early classical, and one classical in red-figure.[8] The explana-

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[2] Beazley, *ABV* 120; close in time to this is a work by Lydos with a race, *ABV* 110 no. 34.

[3] Famous examples include works by the Euphiletos Painter of ca. 520s, *ABV* 322 nos. 4, 6, 7; by the Berlin Painter of ca. 470s, *ABV* 408 nos. 1, 4, 11; and the Nikomachus series in the fourth century, *ABV* 414 no. 1; 415 nos. 3, 5-8. For details on footraces on Panathenaics to 480, see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 66-79 and Catalogue 1 nos. 157-256. A fragment of a sixth-century prize amphora bears an inscription declaring itself the prize for the *diaulos*, *ABV* 69 no. 1; Legakis, Catalogue 1 no. 161. Similarly, a prize amphora of ca. 520 declares itself a prize for the men's *stadion*: Metropolitan Museum Accession 1978 11. 13 (signed by Nikias); Legakis, Catalogue 1 no. 163. Romano, "The Ancient Stadium," 9, dates this vase to the mid-sixth century and feels it may be the earliest appearance of the word *stadion*. Yet another Panathenaic amphora of the mid-sixth century depicts four runners and has a painted inscription σταδίο ἀνθρῶν νίκη: Munich 498 (not in *ABV*); Brauchitsch, *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, 11; ill. in Gardiner, *GASF*, fig. 52. Pindar, *Ol.* 13.38-39, may refer to the Panathenaic *stadion* or *pentathlon*.

[4] Pl. *Leg.* 8.883a. A middle distance race of four stades, the *hippios*, was held at Athens as well as at Isthmia, Nemea, Argos and elsewhere, according to Paus. 6.16.4; Alkmeonides I may have won such a race at Athens ca. 550 (see A6) but the evidence is not conclusive.

[5] Beazley, *ABV* 408 no. 3; 409 no. 1; 322 no. 8.

[6] Legakis, "Archaic Art," 24-66.

[7] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 197, points out that *palaestra* scenes including one or more runners first appear on non-prize vases by the late Amasis painter of the 550s (*ABV* 151 no. 21), on the Nicosthenic Cup by Painter N (*ABV* 223 no. 65), and then by the Perizoma Group (*ABV* 343-45) and the Leagros Group (*ABV* 362-86) of ca. 510.

[8] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 198. These exclude the Panathenaics, on which footrace scenes rival the chariot race for the largest numbers of survivals. Also see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 80-83.

tion may be artistic or simply a matter of popular taste, for footraces appear early in Panathenaic history and do not disappear from the program.

Pentathlon (πένταθλον)

Combining the jump (ἅλμα), footrace (δρόμος), discus (δίσκος), javelin (ἀκόντισις, ἄκων) and wrestling (πάλη), the *pentathlon* has provoked considerable debate about its components and the method of choosing the victor.[9] The event appears in vase-paintings mainly on Panathenaic prize amphorae, and scenes that clearly refer to it persist on such vases from the last quarter of the sixth century onward.[10] Pindar may refer to the Panathenaic *stadion* or *pentathlon*.[11] *IG* II^2 2311.26,41 shows that the event was held ca. 380 for boys, youths and men. The components of the *pentathlon* appear in various combinations on non-prize vases since *pentathlon* and *palaestra* scenes were similarly depicted.[12] Although the footrace and wrestling were events in their own right, it is unlikely that the other pentathletic elements existed independently in civic athletics.

The jump does not occur on Attic vases before the third quarter of the sixth century, after which it appears frequently.[13] It is usually shown in combination with other activities and it is very common in red-figure. Although found as part of the *pentathlon* on Panathenaics from the late sixth century onward,[14] the jump should not be regarded as an independent event, but rather as an exercise, stock scene and element of the *pentathlon*.

Often represented with javelinists or as part of *pentathlon* or *palaestra* scenes, the *diskobolos* appears frequently from the last quarter of the sixth

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[9] See Joachim Ebert, *Zum Pentathlon der Antike* (Berlin, 1963); "Noch einmal zum Sieg im Pentathlon," *ZPE* 13 (1974): 257-62; H.A. Harris, "The Method of Deciding Victory in the Pentathlon," *G&R* 19 (1972): 60-64; R. Merkelbach, "Der Sieg im Pentathlon," *ZPE* 11 (1973): 261-69.

[10] A fragment of a very early Panathenaic amphora with pentathletes of ca. 560 (Ath. Agora P2071) is compared to the Burgon amphora by Beazley, *Development*, 90. Legakis, "Archaic Art," 257-59, feels this is likely to be a prize, but it is uninscribed. For surer examples, see *ABV* 322 nos. 1-2; 344; 404 no. 7; 405 no. 1; *Paralipomena* 142; 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater. Some Panathenaics depict athletes with no indication of the event, and on others the reverses are lost or questionably restored: event unknown, *ABV* 409 no. 4; 412 no. 2; reverse lost, *ABV* 406 no. 8; 410 no. 1; restored, *ABV* 322 no. 5. A *pentathlon* victory of ca. 550 may have taken place at the Panathenaea, see A38, and Epainetos (A22) was probably an early sixth-century pentathlete but the location of his victory is uncertain. Other possible pentathletes include P79 and P100.

[11] Pind. *Ol.* 13.38-39. Also see *Anth. Pal.* 13.19 and the discussion by Ebert, *Epigramme*, no. 26, pp. 93-94.

[12] One side of a base of an archaic kouros statue of ca. 510-500 found built into the Themistoclean wall has a carved relief which might be called a *pentathlon* or a *palaestra* scene; Nat. Mus. 3476; see Travlos, *PDA*, ill. 402, or Yalouris, *Eternal Olympics*, ill. 113.

[13] Legakis, "Archaic Art," 276-318 and Catalogue 9. Black-figure examples include *ABV* 201; 210 no. 3; 344.

[14] Beazley, *ABV* 404 no. 7; 405 no. 1; *Paralipomena* 157 no. 7 quater.

century in black- and red-figure.[15] This was the most prominent field event in Greek art and literature.[16] A single boy discus-thrower appears on one Panathenaic prize amphora from not earlier than 440;[17] since other Panathenaics show the discus only as a part of the *pentathlon*,[18] this vase may symbolize the Panathenaic boys' *pentathlon*. The familiarity of the event from non-prize vases shows its popularity but it probably was not a civic athletic event by itself.

Scenes of javelin-throwers belong mainly to the *palaestra* scenes starting in the third quarter of the sixth century, and they are common in red-figure.[19] On unofficial Panathenaics they appear with discus-throwers in the fifth century, and acontists are included in the *pentathlon* scenes on prize Panathenaics from the last quarter of the sixth century.[20] A single prize Panathenaic from the Kuban group of the late fifth century showing a lone acontist possibly was used to symbolize the whole *pentathlon*,[21] for it seems likely that the javelin was involved in civic athletics only as part of the *pentathlon*.

Hoplitodromos (ὁπλιτοδρόμος)

The hoplite race in armor was a late introduction at the major festivals, becoming an Olympic event only by 520.[22] The race appears on prize Panathenaics of ca. 510 to 480,[23] and a statue of ca. 475 of a *hoplitodromos* from the Acropolis probably was a victor's dedication from some Panhellenic Game or from the hoplite races established at Plataea.[24] A passage from Aristophanes seems to suggest that the Athenian race was a *diaulos*.[25] The event is

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[15] For example, Beazley, *ABV* 397 no. 3; 406; 496 no. 173; 574 no. 6.

[16] See the discussion in Legakis, "Archaic Art," 235-76 and Catalogue 8.

[17] Beazley, *ABV* 409 no. 3.

[18] Beazley, *ABV* 404 no. 1; 322 nos. 1-2; *Paralipomena* 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater.

[19] Legakis, "Archaic Art," 318-56 and Catalogue 10.

[20] Beazley, *ABV* Panathenaic type, 369 nos. 117-18; 438; Panathenaic prizes, 404 no. 7; 322 nos. 1-2; *Paralipomena* 156 no. 7 bis and 7 quater.

[21] Beazley, *ABV* 411 no. 4.

[22] On the Olympic event: Paus. 2.11.8, 10.34.5; the earliest reference is Pind. *Ol.* 4.22.

[23] Legakis, "Archaic Art," Catalogue 2 no. 4, Compeigne 986; no. 6, Naples 81293; and no. 7, London B143. Legakis, no. 3, accepts an erroneously restored vase of ca. 510 (Bologne PV198, *ABV* 322 no. 5) as Panathenaic but this lacks the official inscription; cf. Beazley, *ABV* 322 no. 5; and 300 no. 16 frag. *Hoplitodromoi* also appear on a non-prize Panathenaic of ca. 500 (Legakis, no. 5, Bologne GM 13); and on a fragment of a black-figure amphora, probably Panathenaic, used as an *ostrakon* in the 480s against Hippokrates son of Alkmeonides (Agora Inv. P15593); see Vanderpool, "Ostracism," 245, fig. 3.

[24] Raubitschek, *DAA*, no. 120; see A24 below. On the hoplite race of fifteen lengths held at Plataea as part of the festival of Zeus Eleutherios: Paus. 9.2.5; Philostr. *Gym.* 8.24.

[25] Ar. *Aves* 291-92 and Schol.: a man, seeing a chorus of birds approaching, each with a crest (λόφωσις), asks if they have come to run the *diaulos*.

conspicuously absent from *IG* II^2 2311 but Plato perhaps suggests that it was part of the Panathenaea in the fourth century.[26] Definite representations of *hoplitodromoi* suddenly reappear on prize Panathenaics of 336/5, 324/3 and 323/2 (here with helmet and shield).[27] The Panathenaics and the general ceramic evidence suggest that the civic event—or at least its artistic representation—went in and out of fashion.

This race is difficult to discuss from the evidence of vase-painting in general, since its representations are similar to those of the pyrrhic dance and of warriors running.[28] Webster sees an early representation on a cup by the Lydos painter of the 550s but Boardman accepts no appearance on Attic vases earlier than the 520s.[29] A black-figure amphora of Group E shows a hoplite on one side and a man carrying a tripod on the other, but a reference to the Panathenaea is only one possibility.[30] Most depictions date from ca. 520 to 480, and, although rare in black-figure, the scene had a growing popularity in red-figure.[31] Webster counts 13 representations in black- and 97 in red-figure with a sharp decline in scenes of the event in the fifth century.[32] Again, some shift in popularity or some official change may be indicated.

The *hoplitodromos* is not be confused with the *hoplomachia*, a military exercise and a component of Athenian ephebic training. From the late fifth century onward there are references to experts in hoplomachy or fencing with hoplite weapons, and Plato mentions a demonstration by a professional instructor before an Athenian audience.[33] While the military overtones of the hoplite race are obvious, in terms of military practicality the *hoplomachia* was a more efficient preparation for war. By the time the armed race appears to revive in the second half of the fourth century Athens was controlling the *ephebeia* as a program of military training for its youth. Perhaps popular as a spectacle, by the fourth century this event was more comparable to the *apobates* than to the *anthippasia* from a military point of view.[34]

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[26] Pt. *Leg*. 8.883a.

[27] Beazley, *ABV* 417 no. 1; 415 nos. 11, 12.

[28] For an examination, see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 84-106 and Catalogue 2.

[29] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 198; Beazley, *ABV* 111 no. 70; Boardman, *Red-Figure*, 220.

[30] Beazley, *ABV* 130 no. 50.

[31] For example, *ARV*[2] 84 no. 16; 85 no. 23; 1563; 1135.

[32] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 77-78.

[33] Pl. *Lach*. 181e-183d; *Grg*. 456d. Also see *Euthyd*. 271b-273c; *Leg*. 8.833e; Xen. *Mem*. 3.1; and Everett L. Wheeler, "Hoplomachia and Greek Dances in Arms," *GRBS* 23 no. 3 (1982): 223-33.

[34] Gardiner, *GASF*, 285, and Harris, *GAA*, 74-75. Legakis, "Archaic Art," 85, feels it was a contest for the masses rather than the athletic specialist.

Wrestling (πάλη)

The Greeks called wrestling, boxing and the *pankration* "heavy events" (βαρέα ἆθλα).[35] Tending to be paired with boxers, wrestlers first appear in black-figure in the second quarter of the sixth century, and they continue with decreased frequency in red-figure.[36] The early popularity of the scene may have been influenced by the legends of Theseus as a wrestler.[37] Wrestlers appear on prize vases from the last third of the sixth century and recur on prize and Panathenaic-type vases.[38] Pindar refers to an Argive wrestler victorious at Athens and says that Epharmostos of Opous, an Olympic victor in 468, had won in wrestling at Athens as a boys showing that the Panathenaea probably included a boys' event from the late fifth century onward.[39] Boy wrestlers appear on prize Panathenaics from the late fifth century onward.[40] Again this event is known ca. 380 for boys, youths and presumably men, and an inscription records the boys' event for a Great Panathenaea of the mid-fourth century.[41] Apparently there were matches for men in the sixth, for men and boys in the fifth, and for all three classes by the fourth century.

Boxing (πυγμή, πύξ)

Representations of boxers are found on Attic pottery from the Geometric period onward but they become frequent and suggestive of athletics from

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[35] Paus. 6.24.1. On the terminology and rules, see M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 146 (Meisenheim, 1982), especially 1-19.

[36] Legakis, "Archaic Art," 187-200, concludes that wrestling was the third most common athletic contest depicted in sixth-century black-figure; but, associated like the footrace with older traditions, the scene was less common in red-figure. For examples in black-figure, see *ABV* 64 no. 26; 113 no. 80; 137 no. 62.

[37] On Theseus as a wrestler: Paus. 1.39.3; Plut. *Thes.* 11.1, 19.7; and Weiler, *Agon im Mythos*, 153-56. The wrestlers on the Kynosarges neck amphora of ca. 600 (Athens AP14497; Legakis, Catalogue 6 no. 3) are regarded as figures from legend by Beazley, *Development*, 12.

[38] The earliest prize amphora with wrestlers is attributed to Exekias and dates ca. 530; Beazley, *Paralipomena* 61 no. 8 bis; Legakis, Catalogue 6 no. 61. Also see *ABV* 403 no. 1 and 407 no. 2. Panathenaic-type examples include *ABV* 396 no. 20 and 406 no. 6. Also see Legakis, Catalogue 6 nos. 62-70. A remarkable find of nine Panathenaic amphorae in Eretria in 1969 (P. Themelis, *Ergon* (1979): 4-5, (1974): 17-24, (1976): 14-25) included two groups, one of the archon Charikleides (363/2) and the other of Kallimedes (360/59). All were identified as carrying wrestling scenes (see *Arch. Reports* for 1974/75, p. 4 and figs. 5-6). Three of the vases are illustrated in Poliakoff, *Terminology*, plates 1a, 2, 8; all three date to 360/59 but Poliakoff identifies one (pl. 2, see n. 35 on 16) as a *pankration* scene because of the presence of light boxing thongs. For wrestling at the Great Eleusinia in the fourth century, see A39.

[39] Pind. *Nem.* 10.33, 36; *Ol.* 9.88; also see *Nem.* 4.19.

[40] Beazley, *ABV* 410 nos. 2-3.

[41] *IG* II^2 2311.26,44; *IG* II^2 3131, see A52.

the second quarter of the sixth century.[42] Boxers appear frequently in black and red-figure including Panathenaic-type vases;[43] the earliest prize Panathenaics with boxers start in the last quarter of the sixth century and persist.[44] Diagoras of Rhodes boxed at Athens ca. 464.[45] Boy boxers appear on a lone Panathenaic from the early fifth century, and by 380 three classes existed for competitors.[46]

A Panathenaic amphora of 336/5 is interesting for the appearance of the new, heavy boxing glove and for its depiction of boxers as men with small heads, heavy bodies, and thick limbs.[47] The new glove probably was introduced into Greek athletics in the second half of the fourth century, and Beazley regards the glove and the altered physical type as an indication of increased specialization and brutality in athletics.[48]

Pankration (παγκράτιον)

Combining wrestling and boxing, the *pankration* was a specialized "heavy" event represented chiefly on prize vases.[49] A late black-figure neck amphora and some red-figure cups with scenes of this event can be added to Panathenaic prize amphorae from the late sixth century onward.[50] Kallias was a famous Panathenaic pancratiast in the early fifth century.[51] Although not an Olympic event for boys until 200, the *pankration* was a youths' event at Athens in the late fifth century and also a boys' event in the fourth century.[52]

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[42] Boxing was the most popular event in Greek art, closely following the footrace in numbers of depictions. Although well represented in red-figure of 510-480, boxers overall were less numerous in red- than in black-figure. For a discussion, see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 121-73 and Catalogue 5; for black-figure examples, see Beazley, *ABV* 57 no. 107; 64 no. 27; 67 no. 2; 70 nos. 1-2. For a historical overview: A. Papalas, "The Development of Greek Boxing," *AncW* 9 (1984): 67-76.

[43] For example, Beazley, *ABV* 260 no. 28; 338 no. 2.

[44] Beazley, *Paralipomena* 156 no. 7; *ABV* 405 no. 3; 407 no. 1; 410 no. 4; 411 no. 2; also see Legakis, Catalogue 5 nos. 126-47.

[45] Pind. *Ol.* 7.82; also cf. P87.

[46] Beazley, *ABV* 407 no. 1; *IG* II^2 2311.32,47.

[47] Beazley, *ABV* 415 no. 4; on the types of gloves, Pl. *Leg.* 8.830b-e.

[48] Beazley, *Development*, 99; but now cf. Poliakoff, *Terminology*, 88-95, on the issue.

[49] This event was not common in archaic art and is difficult to distinguish from boxing or wrestling; see Legakis, "Archaic Art," 223-28 and Catalogue 7; and Poliakoff, *Terminology*, 10-11, n. 46 on 19.

[50] Neck amphora, *ABV* 381 no. 1; cups, ARV^2 322 no. 37; 339 no. 65; prize Panathenaics, *ABV* 404 nos. 8-9; 405 no. 2; 413; 417.

[51] Kallias (A29) ca. 480.

[52] See Autolykos (A12); Jüthner-Brein, 1 : 73; *IG* II^2 2311.35,49.

Equestrian Events

Horse Race (κέλης)

Horses are well known on Geometric works but definitely agonistic scenes were not common until the sixth century.[53] Large numbers of equestrian vase-paintings are understandable at this time since many patrons would be of the class of *hippeis*.[54] The earliest Panathenaic prize amphorae for the horse race come from the last quarter of the sixth century, and they persist through the next two centuries.[55] The horse race seems to decline as a popular scene on ordinary ware but it continues on prize vases. Plato recommended the horse race as of military value.[56] Perhaps fewer Athenians were keeping horses, but the event was still held; the Panathenaics can only indicate the existence of the event, not the number of competitors.

Chariot Race (τέθριππον, ἅρμα)

Representations of four-horse chariot races on Attic Geometric vases may refer to eighth-century funerals or hero cults, but it is uncertain whether the scenes derive from epic or real life.[57] Four-horse chariot races certainly are contemporary on prize Panathenaics from ca. 550 onward.[58] Pindar seems to refer to a fifth-century Panathenaic chariot race, and a base of ca. 450-440 from the Acropolis supported a quadriga group celebrating a Panathenaic victory, presumably in the chariot race.[59] The list of ca. 380 records chariot races for colts and for full-grown horses,[60] agreeing with the

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[53] From among the works of the C painter of ca. 560, a cup bears a horse race on one side with a footrace on the other, *ABV* 53 no. 46. Another cup (*ABV* 54 no. 55) shows jockeys with bearded men, probably the owners of the horses. An early ovoid amphora may refer to a victory in the horse race, *ABV* 85 no. 1; and a Panathenaic-type amphora of the third quarter of the sixth century bears an inscription declaring that "the horse of Dyneiketos wins," *ABV* 307 no. 59 (A21 below). For other paintings of jockeys and horses, see Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 182.

[54] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 179.

[55] Beazley, *ABV* nos. 1, 27 "leading in the winning horse;" 369 no. 114; 395 nos. 1-3; 407 nos. 1-2; 408 no. 2; 413 no. 11; *Paralipomena*, 127 "jockeys."

[56] Pl. *Leg*. 8.834 b-c.

[57] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 191; Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," 114-15. Roller, 108-09, also discuss two examples of certainly mythical funeral games in early black-figure on a fragment by Sophilos (*ABV* 39 no. 16 of ca. 580) and on the François vase (*ABV* 76 no. 1 of ca. 570).

[58] Beazley, *ABV* 110 no. 33; 322 no. 3; 396 no. 19; 404 nos. 1-6; 410 nos. 1, 5; 411 no. 3; 412 no. 1; 416 no. 15. The chariot victory of Alkmeonides I (see A6) may have been won at the Panathenaea of 546.

[59] Pind. *Isth*. 2.20; 4.25; *IG* II^2 3123, Raubitschek, *DAA*, no. 174, see A57 below.

[60] *IG* II^2 2311.52,55; cf. Harp. s.v. ἀδηφάγους τριήρεις.

dual classifications at Olympia. Chariot scenes in vase-paintings range from the sixth century on non-prize Panathenaics and they continue into red-figure.[61] Like the horse race, the chariot race declined as a stock scene but the event was retained at the Panathenaea. This may reflect the same phenomenon of a smaller but significant group of hippotrophic families and chariot-racers.

Specialized Equestrian Events

After the chariot races *IG* II[2] 2311.58-64 lists some special events: war horses and drivers compete singly and in chariot races.[62] Such races are not specifically attested as Panathenaic events earlier than this inscription of ca. 380,[63] but many more military horse events are known from second-century inscriptions.[64] Photius states that these "war horses" were not really used for war, but rather gave the appearance of being equipped for war during the competitions.[65] *IG* II[2] 2311.66-67 also lists an event for processional chariots (ζεύγει πομπικῶι); the distinction may simply have been the use of a different type of chariot or cart.[66] These events received much smaller prizes than the chariot races: whereas the chariot races got 40 and 8 amphorae for colts and 140 and 40 for full-grown horses, the war horse race got 16 and 4, war chariots got 30 and 6, and the processional chariots got only 4 and one. Presumably, then, these specialized events were held to be less prestigious and less expensive.

Javelin on Horseback

Although riders with javelins appear on a few fifth-century cups,[67] they may simply be horsemen with spears. Later, on prize Panathenaics from the very end of the fifth century, an apparently new Panathenaic event appears—

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[61] Black-figure, Beazley, *ABV* 394 no. 9; red-figure, *ARV*[2] 1584; 1602.

[62] In line 58 πολεμιστηρίοις is usually taken as "to/for the warriors," as in Miller, *Arete*, 46.

[63] Ar. *Nub.* 28 of 423, however, has Pheidippides ask, in his sleep, about the number of courses for the war-cars (πολεμιστήρια).

[64] *IG* II[2] 2316, 2317; on these inscriptions and the military horse events, see M. A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 226-33; Gardiner, *GASF*, 235-38; Patrucco, *Sport*, 380-82. No pre-Hellenistic victors in these events are known by name or nationality.

[65] Phot. *Lex.* πολεμιστὴς ἵππος; Dittenberg. *SIG* 1055, n. 4. Lysias 19.63 juxtaposes ordinary cavalry horses with ἵπποις ἀθληταῖς saying that a man not only furnished cavalry horses, but also kept race horses to compete in the national games.

[66] Patrucco, *Sport*, 382; E. Preuner, "Amphiaria und Panathenaia," *Hermes* 57 (1922): 90-91. On the issue of whether these specialized events (and the javelin on horseback) were "closed" events, see above, p. 37f.

[67] For example, Beazley, *ARV*[2] 770.

javelin-throwing on horseback at a target (a shield on a post).[68] This was never an Olympic event. One recalls that Themistocles had had his son trained as a horseman and that the youth ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθός.[69] Xenophon strongly recommended proficiency in this skill for military reasons, and he mentions javelin-throwing in cavalry proceedings at the Lyceum.[70] The event is listed on the program of ca. 380 with the equestrian events offering prize amphorae. The contest itself, the target, and the interest of Xenophon suggest that the development of the cavalry influenced the Panathenaic program in the late fifth and fourth centuries.

Synoris (συνωρίς)

Meaning simply a yoke or team of horses, the *synoris* as an event is best known from the Burgon amphora.[71] The history of the event is confusing. On the prize amphora of ca. 566 a pair of horses pulls a cart, but on two late sixth-century Panathenaic prize amphorae a cart race involves mules (definitely on one and apparently on the other).[72] Beazley has suggested that the Burgon vase perhaps should have depicted mules, but the animals simply look more like horses.[73] At Athens two-horse chariots do appear in red-figure vase-paintings in the fifth-century,[74] and a *synoris* race was held at the Great Panathenaea and possibly the Eleusinia in the first half of the fourth-century.[75] At Olympia the *synoris*—what Anderson calls the "cart-horse derby"—was not introduced until 408.[76] An Athenian won the Olympic event in 352.[77] In addition Olympia experimented with a mule cart race (ἀπήνη), which was introduced in 500 but dropped by 444.[78]

The Olympic and Athenian programs differed with respect to the *synoris*. Olympia tried mule cart races in the fifth century but abandoned them and went over to two-horse chariot races late in that century. From ca. 566 Athens had two-horse races and the *synoris* reappears in the fourth century. The Athenian mule cart race is known for the sixth century but may not

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68 Beazley, *ABV* 411 no. 1; 414 no. 1 (?); 417 no. 2 (?); *Development*, 96; Boardman, *Black Figure*, fig. 304.2; cf. B.A. Sparkes, "Quintain and the Talcott Class," *AntK* 20 (1977): 8-25.

69 Pl. *Meno* 93d.

70 Xen. *Hipp.* 1.21, 25; *De Re Eq.* 8.10, 12.12-13; *Hipp.* 3.6 ἐν Λυκείῳ.

71 A. Hug, s.v. συνωρίς, *PW* IV A2 (1932), 1450-52; Beazley, *ABV* 89 no. 1, see above.

72 Beazley, *ABV* 405 nos. 4-5.

73 Beazley, *Development*, "Addenda to the Notes," n. 6, p. 119. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 195 and Davison, "Panathenaea," 27, see the animals as horses. Cf. Illustration A above.

74 Beazley, *ARV*² 1701 no. 50; 1113 no. 10; Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 195.

75 *IG* II² 3126, see A73; *IG* II² 2311 lists neither the *synoris* nor the *apene*.

76 J.K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, 67; Paus. 5.8.10; Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.1.

77 *IG* II² 3127, Moretti, *Olym.* no. 440; see A65.

78 Paus. 5.9.1-2 differentiates between the *synoris* for horses and *apene* for mules. See E. Reisch, s.v. ἀπήνη, *PW* I 2 (1894): 2695-96.

have persisted. Additional mule and horse carts are shown on black- and red-figure works but not ordinarily in the context of racing. Military considerations seem irrelevant to the anachronistic *synoris* or to the awkward mule cart, and it may be best to regard these simply as novelties or as a form of entertainment.

Apobates (ἀποβάτης)

A ceremonial race found only in Attica and Boeotia, the *apobates* perhaps recalled the legendary invention of the chariot by Erechtheus, who is said to have appeared at the founding of the Panathenaea in the form of a charioteer with an armed companion at his side.[79] The technique of the race is debated, but apparently a hoplite descended and ascended a moving chaiot while the charioteer raced to a finish line.[80] Thus the event might be seen as both a gymnastic and an equestrian competition.[81]

The Parthenon frieze connects *apobatai* with the fifth-century Panathenaea, and the competition perhaps had a sacral or archaic nature.[82] No Panathenaic amphorae picture the event, so the prize probably was something else.[83] Although the event is absent from *IG* II² 2311, a fourth-century relief from the Agora is a dedication by a victorious *apobates* in the Panathenaea.[84]

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[79] Marm. Par. 17-18; Harp. s.v. ἀποβάτης; Ps. Eratosth. *Cat.* 13. On the event, see M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 151-52; E. Reisch, ἀποβάτης, *PW* I 2 (1894), 2814-17; Patrucco, *Sport*, 382-84.

[80] According to one version, the *apobates* dismounts at the end of the chariot race and races to the finish on foot (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.73). Another version is that the runner mounts the chariot in flight and then dismounts again (*Anecd. Bekk.* I: 426.30).

[81] The race is somewhat similar to an Olympic event, the *kalpe* or trotting race, part of the Olympic program from 496 to 444 (Paus. 5.9.1-2). In this a rider leaped from a mare in the last lap of the race and ran on foot to the finish; K. Schneider, s.v. κάλπης δρόμος, *PW* X 2 (1919): 1760-61.

[82] M. Robertson and A. Frantz, *The Parthenon Frieze* (London, 1975), North Frieze slabs XIII-XXII, figs. 48-66, South Frieze slabs XXV-XXXII, figs. 61-80. For a discussion, see Frank Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 221-24. On *apobatai* on late Geometric vases and in the Agora, see Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 224-31; H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagérie athénienne* (Paris, 1965), 71-72; Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," n. 61 on 115; P.P. Kahanes, "Ikonographische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-geometrischen Kunst," *AntK* 16 (1973) 133 n. 80; and E. Simon, M. Hirmer and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich, 1976), 39.

[83] *Apobatai* do occur in late black-figure (*ABV* 544 nos. 149-83), lekythoi (*ABL* 234 nos. 61-62), and in red-figure (*ARV*² 1097 nos. 15-16); Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 193. A neck amphora of group E (*ABV* 137 no. 62) depicts a hoplite leaping off a chariot—perhaps an *apobates*. Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 156, points out that Nike appears several times in "departure of chariot" scenes, perhaps referring to the Panathenaic *apobates* race (*ABL* 312 no. 174; 245 no. 85; *ABV* 567 no. 631).

[84] T. Leslie Shear, "The Sculpture found in 1933, Relief of an Apobates," *Hesp.* 4 (1935): 379-81 on Ag. Mus. S399, Inv. no. 8114; see A37 below.

That it was a Panathenaic individual event is also known from a recorded victory by Phokos, the son of Phokion, approximately in the 320s.[85]

The combination of chariot and hoplite might seem to suggest some military influence but actually the *apobates* was militarily anachronistic—even by 566. Gardiner feels that the event preserved traditions of Homeric warfare when the chieftain was driven to the battle and dismounted to fight, remounting again for pursuit or flight.[86] Presumably quite demanding and thrilling, this race would have presented an engrossing spectacle, especially since it apparently was held in the Agora.[87]

Anthippasia (ἀνθιππασία)

The *anthippasia* or "riding opposite" was an interesting competition and display involving tribal cavalry units.[88] Xenophon describes the event in the hippodrome: two squads of five tribal regiments, each led by hipparchs, charged and ran through each other's formations three times in front of the crowd and the Boule.[89]

A sculptured base from the Agora, signed by the fourth-century sculptor Bryaxis, bears an inscription recording the victories in this event by a father and two sons as phylarchs:

φυλαρχοῦντες ἐνίκων ἀνθιππασίαι
Δημαίνετος Δημέο Παιναιεύς
Δημέας Δημαινέτο Παιναιεύς
Δημοσθένης Δημαινέτο Παιναιεύς
Βρύαξις ἐπόησεν[90]

How the event was judged is not known, but this base shows that it was tribal. The *anthippasia* is not listed in *IG* II^2 2311 nor depicted on Panathenaic amphorae.

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[85] Plut. *Phoc.* 20.1, see A70. The *Apobates* of Alexis (Edmonds *FAC* 2: frag. 19) perhaps referred to the race.

[86] Gardiner, *GASF*, 237-38. Similarly, Parke, *Festivals*, 43, suggests that, "As a piece of military archaism on ceremonial occasions the *apobatai* can be compared to the Yeoman of the Guard."

[87] Some second-century inscriptions (*IG* II^2 2316.16, 2317.48) refer to *apobatai* descending at the Eleusinion.

[88] E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," *Hesp.* 43 (1974): 311-13; E. Reisch, s.v. ἀνθιππασία, *PW* I 2 (1894): 2378-79; M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 196-99.

[89] Xen. *Hipp.* 3.10-13. Preparations for the *anthippasia* are mentioned in *Hipp.* 1.20. A processional ride in the Agora described by Xenophon (*Hipp.* 3.2) may be the *anthippasia*; Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 121; but cf. Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311. The event is also mentioned by Hesychius and Suda, s.v. ἀνθιππασία, and *Anecd. Bekk.* 1: 402.2: ἀνθιππασία· ἵππων ἅμιλλα, ἱππικὸς ἀγών.

[90] *IG* II^2 3130, Moretti, *IAG*, no. 28, Wycherley, *Agora III*, 105; no festival is mentioned. J.H. Jonkees, "New Statues by Bryaxis," *JHS* 68 (1948): 29-39, concludes that Bryaxis became famous at Athens ca. 352-344, thus placing the base in question ca. 350.

Some fourth-century dedications by phylarchs may have referred to this event, although neither it nor the festival is named.[91] Inscriptions of the third century, however, specifically mention the contest as part of the programs of the Olympieia and the Panathenaea.[92] Thus the event as described by Xenophon probably was held in these festivals in the fourth century,[93] but there is no evidence that it existed earlier. Obviously military and questionably athletic,[94] the *anthippasia* shows the development of the cavalry and its influence in the fourth century and later.

Torch Races

Several festivals at Athens included various types of torch races as events with agonistic, ritualistic and possibly athletic aspects. It is debatable whether such races should be considered as part of religion, athletics or both. The original significance was the ritualistic transfer of sacred fire between altars, but at Athens the event went beyond this.[95]

A torch race is attested for the fourth-century Great Panathenaea by the

[91] B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 15 (1946): 176-77, no. 24, a phylarch in a dedication of ca. 325 commemorates a victory, perhaps in the *anthippasia.* H.A. Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1952," *Hesp.* 22 (1953): 46-51, refers to a fourth-century dedication by phylarchs and hipparchs; but Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311 n. 5, sees this as a reference to the procession in the Agora, not necessarily the *anthippasia.* T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1970," *Hesp.* 40 (1971): 271-72, an inscription of ca. 365 records a victory of the tribe Leontis in some cavalry contest, probably the *anthippasia*; Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora XIV*, 95, n. 72. *IG* II^2 3135 and 3136 are fourth-century dedications by victorious phylarchs, perhaps in the *anthippasia. IG* II^2 379, by restoration, does record a tribal victory in the event (321/0 or 318/7) but the festival is unknown.

[92] Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," 311-13, no. 1, a tribal win in the anthippasia at the Olympieia from the second half of the fourth century or the early third century ('Ολυ]μπίεια ἀνθιππασία[ι). No. 2, from the late fourth or early third century, may refer to the Great Panathenaea (ἀνθιπ[πασία---] [Παναθήναια τὰ μεγά]λα ἐνίκα). *IG* II^2 3079.5-13 records the event at the Olympieia and Panathenaea ca. 280; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 177. W.K. Pritchett, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 9 (1940): 111-12, no. 21, "Tribal Decree for an Anthippasia Victor," records an early third-century win, probably at the Olympieia. Lines 3-4 show that the prize at this time (and probably earlier) was a tripod.

[93] M.A. Martin, *Cavaliers*, 268, denies the existence of the event before the age of Xenophon, feeling that Xenophon recommends the institution of prizes for exercises such as this in *Hipp.* 1.26. However, Xenophon is suggesting that prizes be offered by the hipparchs, not by the state, and no mention of the *anthippasia* is made. Vanderpool, "Anthippasia," suggests a possible development from a display to a contest, and certainly the *anthippasia* was a contest by the mid-fourth century.

[94] Parke, *Festivals*, 144-45, comments on the military nature of the "mock battle": "It was evidently not a mere race, but a series of operations worthy of a military tattoo, and in fact it was meant to provide training in horsemanship of a kind which would be of practical use in battle."

[95] On torch races at Athens, see Parke, *Festivals*, 23, 37, 45-46, 171-73; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 211-13; Simon, *Festivals*, 53-54, 63-64; Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2: 134-58; J. Jüthner, s.v. Λαμπαδηδρομία, *PW* XII 1 (1924), 569-77; A. Martin, s.v. Lampadedromia, *Dar. Sag.* III 2 (1904), 909-14.

prize list of ca. 380 and by another inscription of 346/5,[96] and the event perhaps was annual at the Lesser Panathenaea.[97] The date of the origin of the race is uncertain. Apparently torches were lit from an altar to Eros dedicated by Pisistratus at the Academy, perhaps suggesting some association between the tyrant and the event.[98] Since the *Athenaion Politeia* declares that the Archon Basileus was in charge of all torch races—implying both the antiquity and the sacral nature of the event—it is reasonable to assume that the torch race was part of the program of 566 and that it was based on an earlier custom.[99]

Although definitely part of the Panathenaea the torch race is listed in *IG* II² 2311.76-77 among the tribal rather than the normal athletic events, and the prizes were not amphorae. Some hesitate to accept the event as athletic.[100] Aristophanes depicts the fifth-century race in a comic light with an inglorious runner proceeding through the Kerameikos.[101] Watching from Hades, Aeschylus in criticism of the influence of Euripides comments that "nowadays no one is trained enough to run the race" (λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἷός τε φέρειν ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί). This implies that training and fitness were factors in the event, and despite Aristophanes' satire the event continued to be held. It is uncertain whether torch races were single or relay races.[102] *IG* II² 2311 records a prize for the individual *lampadephoros* and Aristophanes depicts a single runner, but fourth-century inscriptions (including *IG* II² 2311) also record tribal victories and the presiding gymnasiarchs for Panathenaic torch races.[103] If the race was not a relay, the distance of over two miles from the Academy to the Acropolis means that single runners would need some preparation to be competitive in the event. In this study the Panathenaic torch race tentatively is considered an athletic event as well as a piece of ritual, but the athletic implications of the race will not be emphasized.

The torch race was a very popular event at Athens, perhaps because of its antiquity or its appeal as a spectacle. Red-figure vase-paintings reinforce

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96 *IG* II² 2311.76-77; *IG* I² 84.6,33. Also see *IG* II² 3019; 3022; and 3023; and cf. P81, P82, P94.

97 Davies, "On Liturgies," 37, n. 55, discussing an emendation in the text of Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4. Simon, *Festivals*, 63-64, accepts annual torch races at the Lesser Panathenaea and suggests that the four youths with hydriai on the north frieze of the Parthenon are the annual victors carrying their prizes (*IG* II² 2311.77).

98 Plut. *Sol.* 1.7; Schol. (Hermias) on Pl. *Phdr.* 231e. Parke, *Festivals*, 45-46, suggests Pisistratus may have introduced the event, perhaps on the model of an earlier race to Prometheus; but cf. Davies, "On Liturgies," 29 n. 9.

99 Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 57.1.

100 Cf. Harris, *SGR*, 33; Gardiner, *AAW*, 143.

101 Ar. *Ran.* 129-33, 1087-98.

102 See Jüthner-Brein, 2: 150-53.

103 For example, *IG* II² 3019.

the fifth-century literary testimonia for the existence of the race, and the earliest torch race depictions are early classical.[104] Late fifth-century vases show torch races in the context of the Panathenaea and the Prometheia, and there is some evidence (ceramic) for a torch race at the Anthesteria.[105] The only torch races in black-figure occur on fourth-century miniature Panathenaic-type vases; here the reference is to the Panathenaea, but the vases themselves were not prize Panathenaic amphorae.[106]

Evidence indicates that torch races were held at the Prometheia, the Hephaestia, and several festivals other than the Panathenaea.[107] Pausanias describes the torch race from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy as a single race in which runners had to keep their torches alight to win.[108] Deubner suggests that since the Prometheus myth involves fire, and since his worship was quite prominent at Athens, the altar in the Academy may have been the original centre of the Athenian institution of the torch race.[109] Aeschylus' *Prometheus Pyrphorus*, probably written in 457, may refer to this torch race.[110] The Prometheia torch race apparently was held on an annual tribal basis,[111] and it was organized liturgically under gymnasiarchs by 421/0.[112] A torch race at the Hephaestia seems to be the basis of Herodotus' reference to torch races that the Greeks held in honor of Hephaestus, and his comparison of the event to the Persian messenger system suggests a relay.[113] Aeschylus parallels the torch race to a beacon relay system, again suggesting a team or relay event.[114] Davies has demonstrated that the annual Hephaestia involved a tribal torch race organized liturgically by gymnasiarchs before

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[104] Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 131-32.

[105] Panathenaea: *ARV*² 1190, 134 no. 3. Prometheia: *ARV*² 1333 no. 1; see Webster, *Potter and Patron*, 44. For an interesting argument on possible Panathenaic torch races depicted on red-figure works, see P.E. Corbett, "Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century," *Hesp.* 18 (1949): 315-16, 346-51. On the Anthesteria, see Van Hoorn, *Anthesteria*, 33-34.

[106] For example, *ABV* 661 nos. 1-3.

[107] Harp. s.v. λαμπάς, (ed. Dindorf); Schol. on Ar. *Ran.* 131, 1087; *IG* I² 84.20-21, 37. See Parke, *Festivals*, 171-73.

[108] Paus. 1.30.2.

[109] Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 211-12.

[110] Aeschylus *Prometheus Pyrphorus* frags. 1-3 (Nauck *TGF*); Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, trans. J. Scully and C.J. Herington (Oxford, 1975), "The Fragmentary Prometheus Plays," 102, 110. Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 25-26, 148, suggests that Aeschylus' satyr play, *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*, concluded with a torch race honoring Prometheus; thus the play might have presented a satyric equivalent of both the central event and probable conclusion of the *Prometheia* trilogy.

[111] Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; Isaeus 7.36; *IG* II² 1138.9-10.

[112] See Davies, "On Liturgies," 36, discussing *IG* I² 84.37; Lys. 21.3; and Isaeus 7.36.

[113] Hdt. 8.98. For a possible depiction on *ARV*² 1171.1, see H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (Würzburg, 1971), 78-81, pl. 14.2. Simon, *Festivals*, 53-54, dates the race to Mounychion on the basis of the representation of that month as a torch bearer on the calendar-frieze in the Little Metropolis.

[114] Aesch. *Ag.* 281-316; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 212-13.

421/0,[115] and a passage from Aristotle would suggest that the festival became penteteric in 329/8.[116]

A torch race to Pan at Athens was connected to the famous run of Pheidippides (or Philippides), the long distance runner who carried the news of the Persian landing at Marathon to Sparta in 490. According to Herodotus, Pan spoke to the messenger during his run, and thereafter Athens honored Pan on a yearly basis with torch races and sacrifices.[117]

Plato testifies to the institution of a new torch race at Athens in 429 to the goddess Bendis, a Thracian version of Artemis.[118] This torch race was a relay held in the Peiraeus in the evening, and it was a novelty because it was held on horseback.[119] Recognition of the cult of Bendis apparently was a political concession to a colony of Thracians living in the Peiraeus for Thrace was strategically important to Athens at this time.[120]

Further torch races, by teams on foot, are attested by Hellenistic sources for the Theseia and the Epitaphia.[121] Thus the classical Panathenaea and the Hellenistic Theseia and Epitaphia included torch races in conjunction with programs of athletic events, and there is some argument for accepting these torch races as athletic events. However, the torch races for Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan and Bendis were elements of the ritual of these non-athletic festivals; hence they are not considered herein as athletic events.

Boat Races

In view of the significance of the fleet in pre-Hellenistic Athenian history, one might expect boat races to have been quite common, but most of the evidence for such is Hellenistic.[122] So little is known of pre-Hellenistic boat races that they cannot be categorized as military, athletic, ritualistic or spectacular. A contest of ships held on a tribal basis has been noted as part of the Great Panathenaea from the prize list of ca. 380.[123] It is not

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[115] Davies, "On Liturgies," 35, discussing *IG* I² 84.20-21; Ps. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; Andoc. 1.132; *IG* II² 3201.7-11 and 1138.9-10.

[116] Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7.

[117] Hdt. 6.105; also Photius *Lex.* s.v. λαμπάς; see E. Simon, "Ein nordattischer Pan," *AntK* 19 (1976): 19-23. On the development of the story, see Frank J. Frost, "The Dubious Origins of the Marathon," *AJAH* 4 no. 2 (1979): 159-63.

[118] Pl. *Resp.* 1.327a, 328a. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.11 refers to a temple of Bendis in the Peiraeus in 403. On the cult, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 219-20. For the Bendidia in 334-332, see *IG* II² 1496.86, 117 and Michael B. Walbank, "Regulations for an Athenian Festival," *Hesp.* Suppl. 19 (1982): 180 and n. 3.

[119] Cf. the Thracian ἀφιππολαμπάς: Dittenberg. *SIG* 1069.2, 19.

[120] Parke, *Festivals*, 149-52.

[121] *IG* II² 956.4; 1006.22; 1011.9.

[122] Two early but useful articles by Percy Gardner discuss the relevant sources: "Boat-races at Athens," *JHS* 2 (1881): 315-17; "Boat-races among the Greeks," *JHS* 2 (1881): 90-97.

[123] *IG* II² 2311.78-79; Gardiner, *GASF*, 240-41.

known when such an event originated, only that it continued into Hellenistic times.[124] The race probably was held from the Peiraeus around the promontory to Mounychia harbor; the comic dramatist Plato probably refers to it when he says that the tomb of Themistocles in the Peiraeus looked out on the contest of ships (ἅμιλλα τῶν νεῶν).[125]

Although the details are uncertain, it appears that the Athenians also held a boat race in honor of Poseidon at Sounion. Herodotus records that the Athenians held a penteteric festival at Sounion, which was possibly part of the Poseidea since Poseidon was worshipped at Sounion.[126] The speaker of Lysias 21 refers to a liturgy involving a trireme race at Sounion (νενίκηκα δὲ τριήρει μὲν ἁμιλλώμενος ἐπὶ Σουνίῳ);[127] and a passage from Aristophanes may be an oblique reference to this race.[128]

Two further instances of boating events are attested[129] but only by post-classical sources. In commemoration of the Battle of Salamis, as part of the Mounychia festival to Artemis, an ephebic regatta was held running from the Peiraeus to Mounychia harbor in the Hellenistic age.[130] This was probably a non-athletic, post-classical addition to the ephebic training program.[131] The Diisoteria, a festival to Zeus the Savior, was held in the Peiraeus, but Aristotle mentions only a *pompe* organized by the archon.[132] However, in Hellenistic times an ephebic regatta is also attested.[133] The cult itself could not have been older than the Themistoclean fortification of the Peiraeus in 492, and Parke's suggestion that its foundation was tied to the recovery of the port after the Persian sack is merely conjectural.[134] Thus, neither the Mounychia nor the Diisoteria demonstrably included athletic or even agonistic boating events in the classical age; only the Panathenaea and probably the Posideia involved civic boat races prior to 322.

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[124] *IG* II^2 1029; 1030.20.

[125] Plato Com. frag. 183 (Meineke *FCG* 2: 679) *apud* Plut. *Them.* 32.5; also Paus. 1.1.2 and Diodorus (*FGrH* 372 F35 with Jacoby's note) *apud* Plut. *Them.* 32.4; Paul W. Wallace, "The Tomb of Themistocles in the Peiraeus," *Hesp.* 41 (1972): 451-62; Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles*, 233-35.

[126] Hdt. 6.87, however, mentions only a sacred or theoric ship bearing delegates. Poseidon: Paus. 2.35.1; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 215; Parke, *Festivals*, 97.

[127] Lys. 21.5; Davies, "On Liturgies," 36, sees this as a reference to the Panathenaic boat race but this is unnecessary; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 215.

[128] Ar. *Eq.* 551-64; Harris, *SGR*, 128.

[129] Pl. *Phd.* 58c; Xen. *Mem.* 4.8.2; see Davies, "On Liturgies," 37-38.

[130] For example, *IG* II^2 1006.29; 1011.16; on the festival, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 204-07; Simon, *Festivals*, 81-82. In Roman times a sea battle also existed: *IG* II^2 2130.49.

[131] Parke, *Festivals*, 138-39, extends this argument also to the regatta at the Diisoteria.

[132] On this festival, mainly from post-classical sources, see Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 174-76; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.5.

[133] *IG* II^2 1006.30. On the Hellenistic procession and sacrifice: *IG* II^2 1008.21; 1030.23; 1496 Aa 88-89. A regatta also is attested by a Hellenistic ephebic inscription (*IG* II^2 1011.16) for the Aianteia to Ajax but this may have taken place at Salamis; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 228.

[134] Parke, *Festivals*, 167-68.

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUES OF KNOWN AND POSSIBLE ATHENIAN ATHLETES

Catalogue I: Athletes and Victors (A)

A1. Ἀγλαός ... Οἰνεΐς (φ) ca. 450

stadion, hippios dromos (?)
Isth., Nem., several lesser festivals
Bacchyl. *Ode* 9 (10)
Jebb, *Bacchylides*, 313-21, 476-80

In line 9 Blass supplies and Jebb accepts the dative for the Athenian of the tribe Oineis (lines 17-18) who ran two races in sequence (lines 19-26). The first was probably the stadion, and the second, being four stades long, perhaps was the hippios dromos. The name of the father may have been lost, or not included for metrical reasons. Commissioned by the brother-in-law (lines 9-10) for an unknown reason, the ode cannot be dated with certainty.

A2. Ἀκαρνάν ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

youths' stadion
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.12
PA 464

This youthful runner is otherwise unknown.

A3. Ἀλκιβιάδης I ... (Σκαμβωνίδης) ca. 525-500

chariot (?)
Pyth.
IG II^2 472; G. Daux, "Inscription de Delphes," *BCH* 46 (1922): 439-51, no. 1; Jeffery, *Scripts*, 75, no. 39.
APF 597, see 600 III, V, stemma Table I.

Jeffery dates this dedication from Delphi to ca. 525-500. Daux's restoration of [Πύ]θια πρ[ῶτος] presumably refers to a chariot victory. Thus with its first known member, this family was already hippotrophic. A's son, Kleinias I, was trierarch at his own expense at Artemisium (Hdt. 8.17; Plut. *Alc.* 1.1). His grandson (Alkibiades II Kleinoiu I) was a candidate for ostracism in the 480s (E. Vanderpool, "The Ostracism of the Elder Alcibiades," *Hesp.* 21 (1951): 1-8).

A4. Ἀλκιβιάδης III Κλεινίου II Σκαμβωνίδης 416

chariot, horserace
Ol., Nem., Pyth., Panath.?
Thuc. 6.16.2; for complete testimonia see Moretti, *Olym.* no. 345.
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 345; *APF* 600, biblio. p. 9, stemma Table I; J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1951), 130-41

Moretti and Davies discuss the confusing tradition on A's victories. He

entered seven chariots at Olympia in 416 and came in first, second and fourth (Thuc. 6.16.2; Ath. 1.3e; Plut. *Alc* 11; Dem. 1.1). That he came in third rather than fourth is asserted by Euripides (Plut. *Alc.* 11) and accepted by Isocrates (16.34). Paintings by Aristophon and Aglaophon, commissioned by A. after his Olympic wins and displayed on the Acropolis, depicted him as a Pythian and Nemean victor (Plut. *Alc.* 16.7; Ath. 12.534d), leading Pausanias (1.22.7) to credit A. with a horserace win at Nemea. D.A. Amyx, "The Attic Stelai, Part III," *Hesp.* 27 (1958): 178-86, notes the listing of over 82 Panathenaic amphorae among what is likely to be A.'s property (see W.K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai, Part I," *Hesp.* 22 (1953): 249, Stele II 21, 41-60), and suggests that A. won the Panathenaic chariot race in 418.

A.'s father married into the Alkmeonidai and died early, leaving A. to become the ward of Pericles (Ps. Pl. *Alc.* 1.104b; Pl. *Prt.* 320a). A. himself married Hipparete I daughter of Hipponikos II in the later 420s (Isoc. 16.31; Ps. Andoc. 4.13; Plut. *Alc.* 8.1-3) linking himself to the wealthy, hippotrophic family of Kallias II. His reputation for extravagance and his career as a general are well known.

Anecdotes in Plutarch's *Alcibiades* suggest A. may have had athletic training as a youth: 2.2 a wrestling bout; 3.1-2 A. in a *palaestra*; 4.4 A. exercises with Socrates (cf. Pl. *Symp.* 217c); 16.4 Athenians note the fitness and strength of A.'s body (cf. Isoc. 16.32). Ps. Plato *Alc.* I 106e also says that A.'s schooling included wrestling.

A5. Ἀλκμέων I Μεγακλέους I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 592

chariot

Ol.

Hdt. 6.125.5; Isoc. 16.25; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 7, p. 201 Dr.

Moretti, *Olym.* no. 81; *APF* 651, see 9688 II, stemma Table I.

This win, after Croesus' gift of gold, was the first of many chariot victories for this family and Athens. A. himself commanded Athenian forces in the First Sacred War from ca. 595 on (Plut. *Sol.* 11.2).

A6. Ἀλκμεωνίδης I Ἀλκμέωνος I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ca. 546

chariot

Panath.?

IG I^2 472; Moretti, *IAG* 10-12, no. 5; Ebert, *Epigramme*, 38-42, no. 3; Jeffery, *Scripts*, 73, no. 30.

APF 653, see 9688 II, stemma Table I; Bicknell, *Politics and Genealogy*, 68-69, stemma p. 75.

A dedication from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in North Boeotia records this victory from the mid-sixth century. From the find spot and orthography, Jeffery suggests A. won at the Great Panathenaea of 546 and then had to leave before he could make a dedication on the Acropolis. Davies feels the primary historical value of the dedication is as a witness of the Alkmeonid response to the Theban support for the return of Pisistratus in 547/6.

A second dedication was made on the Acropolis by A. jointly with [Κράτι]ος (*DAA* no. 317; *IAG* no. 4, pp. 8-10; Ducat, *Les kouroi du Ptoion*, 242 ff., no. 14, pl. 72; see A38). This dedication may be slightly earlier (Jeffery, *Scripts*, 73), and Moretti suggests the Panathenaea of 550/49 or 546/5. The event is uncertain but may have been the hippios dromos (*DAA* p. 339).

A7. Ἀντίβιος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

παῖδας στάδιον ἀπὸ γυμνασίων
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.30
PA 978

A8. Ἀντικλῆς ... Ἀθηναῖος 340

stadion
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 16.77; *P Oxy.* 12; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.205 Schoene)
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 451; *PA* 1057

Africanus mistakenly records Anikles. Aeschines (1.157) refers to an Antikles "ton stadiodromon" who may be this athlete. Two men named Antikles (*APF* 1060 and 1057) each freed a slave ca. 330 (*IG* II^2 1567.17-20) and the runner may have been one of these.

A9. Ἀντιφάνης ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

boys' pankration
Amphiaraia
Oropos. 47.21
PA 1214

A10. Ἀριστόλοχος ... Ἀθηναῖος 344

stadion
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 16.69; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.206 Schoene); *POxy.* 12 (Ἀριστ[ό]λυκος)
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 446; *PA* 1948

Davies, p. 61, rejects any connection to the banker and trierarch Aristolochos of the first half of the fourth century (*APF* 1946).

A11. Ἀτρόμητος I ... Κοθωκίδης ca. 420-410

gymnastic athlete (?)
Aeschin. 2.147
APF 2581, see 14625 II, stemma p. 546; Young, *Olympic Myth*, 156 and n. 54

Aeschines declares that when his father Atrometos was young, and before the war destroyed his property, he ἀθλεῖν τῷ σώματι. Young feels that it is not wholly certain that these words refer to athletic competition but cf. Ps. Andoc. *Against Alcibiades* 32. A.'s sons possibly also were athletes, see P80 and P115.

Born in 437/6 or 436/5, A. married the daughter of Glaukos of Archarnai not later than 403. Aeschines' speech *On the Embassy* says A. lost his property (οὐσία) in the Peloponnesian War and was expelled by the Thirty (2.78,147-48). He took part in the democratic restoration and then, in the economic hardships of the 390s, he took service in Asia as a mercenary (2.147). Young is dubious of the origins and status ascribed to A. by either Aeschines (2.147-48, that he shared a phratry with a prominent clan, distinguished himself in Athenian military campaigns, and fought for the restoration of the democracy) or Demosthenes (18.129; 19.281-82, that his parents were of lowly origins). Young concludes that

A. "... was obviously the son of neither a slave nor a noble." Davies feels A.'s family had little wealth or social distinction but his son's career puts the family in the register.

A12. Ἀυτόλυκος Λύκωνος Θορίκιος 421

youths' pankration
Ath. 5.187f; Xen. *Symp.* 1.2
PA 2748; G. Hultsch, s.v. *PW* II (1896), 2601-02

Athenaeus refers to the *Symposium* of Xenophon in which Kallias III stages a party for his favorite, A., who had just won the Panathenaic pankration in the archonship of Aristion (421/0). In the same year the comic poet Eupolis brought out his *Autolykos* satirizing the victory (Ath. 5.216d-e; Edmonds *FAC* 1 : frags. 39-41). Cf. Sutton, *Satyr Play*, 60, who would correct Ath. by placing A.'s win in the archonship of Alcaeus (from July 422) and assigning Eupolis' play to January of 421; Sutton also suggests that Euripides' satyric *Autolykos* came out in the same year. Xen. *Symp.* 1.2,8-9 records A.'s victory and his beauty and good character. Paus. 1.18.3 refers to a statue of A. in the Prytaneion, and Pliny (*HN* 34.19.79) says the statue was by Lykios, son and pupil of Myron.

Paus. 9.32.8 further records that A. had a dispute with Eteonis, a Spartan, who assaulted A. and brought A. before Lysander who ruled in A.'s favor. The story reappears in Diod. 17.5.7, and Plut. *Lys.* 15.5 adds that later the Thirty put A. to death to please the Spartan who was the leader of the garrison on the Acropolis.

Lykon, A.'s father, was possibly the accuser of Socrates (Pl. *Ap.* 24a; 36b) who, according to Socrates, acted on "behalf of the orators." Hermippus (in Diog. Laer. 2.38) calls him δημαγωγός. There is some confusion concerning his financial status; see *PA* 9271. Schol. Pl. *Ap.* 23e describes him as a poor man or laborer (πένης) but Ar. *Vesp.* 1301 puts him among a group of prominent men. A.'s parents were attacked in comedy (Edmonds *FAC* 1 : Eupolis frags. 215, 273-74; Ameipsias frag. 23) but Xen. *Symp.* 8.7-8 says that A. and Kallias III both were sons of distinguished fathers (πατέρων ὀνομαστῶν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς εἶναι).

Although not in *APF*, A. and his father were both conspicuous men who received literary attention. The costly statue and the association with Kallias III suggest that the family was of reasonable status and wealth.

A13. Δημάδης I Δημέου I Παιανιεύς 328 (?)

horserace
Ol.
Suda s.v. Δημάδης 3 (A. Adler ed. *Suda* 415), ἱπποτρόφει καὶ ἠγωνίζετο Ὀλυμπίασι, καὶ ἐνίκα.
APF 3263, biblio. p. 99, stemma p. 102; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 467.

Born earlier than 380 into a non-noble family, D. is said by the Suda to have been a sailor and shipbuilder. He advanced himself as a public speaker (Plut. *Dem.* 8.7; Theophrastus *apud* Plut. *Dem.*10.1) and gained rewards via bribes for political purposes (Dein. 1.89,104; 2.15). He proposed several decrees including *IG* II^2 380 (for an account of D.'s political activity, see M.H. Hansen, "*Rhetores* and *Strategoi*," *GRBS* 24 (1983) : 163). Davies regards him as a member of a group of *nouveaux riches* politicians with his displays of gourmandizing and liturgies. See the extensive testimonia in *APF* pp. 99-102. Davies suggests that D. may

have been one of the last Athenians to engage successfully in competitive horse-breeding. On the date of his win, see Moretti, *Olym.* p. 127.

A14. Δημήτριος I Φανοστράτου Φαληρεύς ca. 320

chariot

Panath., Delia, Hermaia

IG II^2 2971

APF 3455, biblio. p. 107; MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 31-34, 44

Davies feels D.'s victories probably date ca. 320 or soon after, so D. may not strictly qualify chronologically for this catalogue. However, his wins and his hipparchy characterize him as a ἱππικὸς ἀνήρ. Most statues of D. were ἐφ' ἵππων καὶ ἁρμάτων καὶ συνωρίδων (Diog. Laer. 5.75).

Of the *genos* of the Kerykes, D.'s rich family did not emerge from obscurity until the 320s. He and his brother apparently were *novi homines* in Athenian public life. His chariot wins followed his entrance into politics ca. 325 (as hipparch and general) and preceded his career as governor of Athens for Macedon.

A15. Δημοκράτης I Λύσιδος I Αἰξωνεύς second half of the fifth century

chariot, horserace

Pyth., Isth., Nem.

Pl. *Lysis* 205c, 208a

APF 3519, see 9574, stemma p. 361; R.S. Stroud, "The Gravestone of Socrates' Friend, Lysis," *Hesp.* 53 (1984): 355-60

Plato's *Lysis*, set at the end of the fifth century, refers to the wealth, slaves, paid charioteer and hippotrophy (πλούτους τε καὶ ἱπποτροφίας καὶ νίκας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τεθρίπποις τε καὶ κέλησι, 205c) of D. I and his father Lysis I (see A42) and other ancestors of Lysis II, the eldest son of D. I (204e) and the namesake of the dialogue.

Lysis 204e suggests that D. was well known in late fifth-century Athens. Davies (pp. 359-61), placing D.'s birthdate ca. 470-460, suggests that chronologically and socially D. could very well be the Demokrates (*PA* 3512) known in the 430s as a lover of Alcibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 3 = Antiphon F66 ed. Blass). Davies (p. 359) also feels the family may have held a hereditary priesthood. Socrates praises Lysis II (seen wearing a crown in a *palaestra* during the Hermaia) as *kalos kagathos* (206e-207a) and he also praises Hippothales (whose songs of praise for L.'s family include references to ancestral associations with Herakles and Zeus, 205c-d) for loving such a noble youth (204e).

Recently Stroud has shown that, in addition to Plato, there is epigraphic evidence for the family. A gravestone of Lysis II and a hitherto unknown son (Timokleides) was found in 1974 (Piraeus Museum Inv. no. 3281; O. Alexandri, *Deltion* 29, 1973-74, B [1979], 156-57; *SEG* XXIX, 203). The modesty of the monument, a *loutrophoros* and inscribed base used for both father and son, Stroud suggests (359-60), may indicate that the formerly affluent and prominent family had fallen on hard times.

A16. Δημο[σθέν]η[ς ... Ἀθηναῖος 366-338

[ζεύγει πολεμιστ]ηρίωι

Amphiaraia

Oropos 47.40

A17. Διοφάνης I (?) Ἐμπεδίωνος I Ἀθηναῖος ca. 430

youths' pankration
Isth.
IG II^2 3125

See D. II (A18).

A18. Διοφάνης II Ἐμπεδίωνος II Ἀθηναῖος ca. 370-360

youths' pankration
Isth.
IG II^2 3125; Moretti, *IAG* 56-57, no. 22; Ebert, *Epigramme*, 133-34, no. 40
PA 4400

Ebert offers a new and reasonable reading of this inscribed base from the Acropolis. Below Διοφάνης Ἐμπεδίωνος νίκη : Ἰσθμοῖ he restores : Ἐμπεδίωνος παῖδες Ἀθηναῖοι δύ' ἐνίκων | Διοφάνης ἀγένειος ἐ[ν] Ἰσθμῶι πανκρατί[οιο] | κα[ὶ] πρόγονος στεφ[άνους]· ῥώμην δὲ χερῶν ἐπ[έ]δε[ι]ξ[αν]. Ebert follows Koehler (in the *IG*) and Moretti in taking πρόγονος as grandfather rather than brother to explain why the dedication was made by the younger Diophanes. Ebert sees five rather than four spaces in the second gap in the last line and so rejects Koehler's restoration of a name Στέφ[ανος] which Moretti had accepted. Arguing sensibly from homonymity, he suggests that a homonymous grandfather (D. I) won the youths' pankration at Isthmia. This earlier victory would have taken place ca. 430 (cf. *PA* 12882).

Although Ebert's interpretation cannot be proven, the dedication and epigram show that this was an athletic family of some means. Davies excluded D., but there may be a connection with Διοφάνης Γαργήττιος (*APF* 4407, see 1413) owner of a workshop at Maroneia in the mid-fourth century (*Hesp.* 19 (1950): no. 14, line 8.

A19. [Διοχά]ρης ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

[ζεύγει πωλικῶι]
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.43

A20. Διώξιππος ... Ἀθηναῖος 336

pankration
Ol.
Pliny *HN* 35.139; Diog. Laer. 6.43; Ael. *VH* 12.58; Plut. *De Curiositate* 521b Moretti, *Olym.* no. 458; *PA* 4529; Harris, *GAA*, 122-23; T.S. Brown, *AncW* 7 (1983): 81-87

On the date of D.'s win ἀκονιτί, see Moretti, pp. 125-26. D. is mentioned as a strong man at the time of his sister's wedding in Hyperides (1.6, *In Defence of Lycophron*) in the 320s.

After his Olympic win D. accompanied Alexander the Great, won an individual combat to the death, and committed suicide (Diod. Sic. 17.100-101; Curt. 9.716-26). His social status is uncertain and Davies does not include him in *APF*.

A21. Δυνείκετος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 525-500

horserace
Beazley, *ABV* 307, no. 59 (Br. Mus. B603); *CIG* 7761b; P. Kretschmer, *Die*

griechischen Vaseninschriften (Gütersloh, 1894; reprint ed., Chicago, 1980), 87-88, no. 135
Gardiner, *GASF*, 243, fig. 37; Hyde, *OVM*, 280; Yalouris, *Eternal Olympics*, ill. 140

An archaic, black-figure amphora of the fourth quarter of the sixth century by the Swing Painter depicts a mounted youth preceded by a herald in official robes with words coming out of his mouth: Δυνεικέτυ ἵππος νικᾷ. Behind the rider is an attendant bearing a wreath and a (prize) tripod. On the reverse is Athena with Hermes and a man.

This is a Panathenaic-type but not an official prize amphora and the tripod may suggest that D. was victorious in some festival other than the Panathenaea. Kretschner considers the possibility that this form of the name was a variation of Δυσνικήτου as in *PA* 4580 (likewise Al. N. Oikonomides, *AncW* 7 (1983): 110, 116 and notes 9-10, suggests the Attic form may have been Δυ(σ)νεικήτου).

A22. Ἐπαίνετος ... Ἀθηναῖος (?) ca. 580-570
jump (or pentathlon)
Eleusinia (?)
IG I² 802; Moretti, *IAG* 1-4, no. 1
PA 4747; Gardiner, *GASF*, 147, fig. 100a; Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, 161-62

A lead halter found at Eleusis bears a dedicatory inscription declaring that E. won in jumping: hαλόμενος νίκεσεν Ἐπαίνετος· hόνεκα τόδε hα[λτε̃ρ--]. E. is otherwise unknown. See Moretti's discussion of the inscription and the event.

A23. Ἐπιχάρης ... Ἀθηναῖος 396 (?)
boys' stadion
Ol.
Ps. Dem. 58.66
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 368; *APF* 5001, see 1904, stemma p. 58

E.'s father and deme are unknown, and Davies (pp. 57-58) rejects Kirchner's attempt to make E. the father of the merchant Mikon (*PA* 5003). E.'s nephew of the same name was ca. 20 years old in 342 when he spoke against Theokrines (Ps. Dem. 58.66-67). His uncle was Aristokrates II, a politician and a general in the Peloponnesian War, the best known member of a liturgical family traceable for several generations.

A24. Ἐπιχαρῖνος Ὀφ[ολ]ο̣[νίδο] Ἀθηναῖος ca. 475
hoplitodromos
IG I² 531; *DAA* 124-5, no. 120, biblio. p. 124; Paus. 1.23.9
PA 5011

Pausanias notes a statue by Kritios on the Acropolis of E. "who practised running in armor" (ὁπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος). On the inscribed base of a statue from the Acropolis Raubitschek restores the father's name as Opholonides since Charinos, Epichares and Charisios occur as names in the family of Opholonides (cf. *DAA* nos. 210, 291). Opholonides himself made a dedication ca. 490; and Raubitschek suggests E. may have won an armed race some fifteen years later, perhaps in one of the Panhellenic Games or even in the games celebrated after Plataea (Philostr. *Gym.* 8; Paus. 9.2.6).

On possible representations of the statue on coins and in works of art, see *DAA* p. 125.

A25. Ἑρμόλυκος I Εὐθοίνου Ἀθηναῖος ca. 480s.

pankration
Paus. 1.23.10; Hdt. 9.105
PA 5164; Hyde, *OVM*, 372-73; Connor, *New Politicians*, 156-58

Pausanias refers to a statue of Hermolykos the pancratiast on the Acropolis, and this probably was H. son of Euthynios, a pancratiast who distinguished himself at Mykale in 479 and died later, according to Herodotus, in the battle at Kyrnos in Euboea. This pancratiast is probably related to H. II, son of Dieitrephes I, whom Raubitschek sees as an aristocrat because of his dedication on the Acropolis in the mid-fifth century (*DAA* 141-44, 464, no. 132). The stemma in Connor, p. 157 (following E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 37 (1968): 117-20; cf. W.D. Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* Suppl. 5: 163, and *DAA* 141-44) places H.I. in a family of fifth-century generals as brother of Dieitrephes I, a candidate for ostracism ca. 460.

A26. Εὔδωρος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 450

wrestling
Pl. *Meno* 94c
PA 5447

See the discussion of his fellow wrestler A51.

A27. Εὐρυβάτης ... Ἀθηναῖος 672

stadion
Ol.
Dion. Hal. 3.1.3 (Εὐρυβάτης); Paus. 2.24.7 (Εὐρύβοτος); Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.198 Schoene) (Εὔρυβος)
PA 5959; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 36

E. is otherwise unknown.

A28. Εὐφραῖος ... Ἀθηναῖος 330s

pankration (?)
Hyper. 1.6
PA 6081

E. is referred to as προσγυμναστής of Dioxippos (A20) (on the term: Harris, *GAA*, 177 and n. 14 on 216) and both are acknowledged as the strongest men in Greece (οἵ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμολογουμένως ἰσχυρότατοί εἰσιν). He is otherwise unknown.

A29. Καλλίας Διδυμίου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (?) ca. 480, 472 (Ol.)

pankration
Periodos, Panath.
DAA 24-26, 181-84, 459, nos. 21, 164, biblio. p. 181; Moretti, *IAG* 33-35, no. 15, *IG* I^2 606 (= *SIG* 69); *IG* I^2 608, 714; *I Olympia* no. 146; Ps. Andoc. 4.32; Paus. 6.6.1; 5.9.3; *P Oxy.* 222
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 228; *PA* 7823; Knab, *Periodonikes*, 6, no. 5; Hyde, *OVM*, 365; E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 239-40, figs. 56-57; T.T. Rapke, "The Demotic of Kallias Didymiou," *Ant. Class.* 43 (1974): 332-33

The only known pre-Hellenistic Athenian Periodonikes, K. is attested on a base on the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 164; *IG* I^2 606) recording his wins at Olympia,

the Panathenaea, five times at Isthmia, four times at Nemea, and twice at the Pythia. The chronological order of his wins is uncertain, but see Moretti, *Olym.*, p. 91. Pausanias saw K.'s bronze statue by Mikon at Olympia. Another dedication from the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 21; *IG* I^2 608 and 174) was probably made by K. as a boy after a Panathenaic win. Raubitschek proposes a date of ca. 480 for this early victory.

Ps. Andocides asserts that K. was ostracized, and ostraca with his name show that he at least was in danger of being banished (E. Vanderpool, *Hesp.* Suppl. 8 (1949) : 409; *Hesp.* 17 (1948) : 194). K. may have dedicated *IG* I^2 606 before his ostracism, which probably dates soon after 450.

Rapke discusses the possibility that K. was from Alopeke.

A30. Καλλίας I Φαινίππου I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 564 (Ol.)

chariot, horserace
Ol., Pyth.
Hdt. 6.122.1; Schol. Ar. *Av.* 283
APF 7833, see 7826 II, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 103; Hyde, *OVM*, 365

K. won a horse or chariot victory at Delphi, and then a horserace victory (κέλητι) and a second-place finish in the chariot at Olympia, both in 564. He had a Panhellenic reputation δαπάνῃσι μεγίστῃσι, and he and his father are the first known members of his wealthy family. Davies (p. 255) points to the "canting self-advertisement" of the name given to his son Hipponikos I (also note Phainippos); and K.'s grandson K. II also raced chariots.

K. purchased the confiscated property of Pisistratus ca. 559 (Hdt. 6.121) and yet was still alive in Athens in the 520s as the probable dedicator of a statue of Athena on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.26.4; *DAA* 491 f).

A31. Καλλίας II Ἱππονίκου I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 500, 496, 492

chariot
Ol.
Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 64
APF 7825, see 7826 V, biblio. p. 254, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* nos. 164, 169, 176; Hyde, *OVM*, 365; K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries," *TAPS* 64 pt. 3 (1974): 47-50

The Scholiast says K. II's son Hipponikos II derived his name from his father's three chariot wins at Olympia. This is suspicious (see *APF*, p. 258 and Moretti, *Olym.*, pp. 80-81) and probably is a confusion between Kimon I and Megakles IV. The name Hipponikos is not new in this family; and there is little room in the Olympionikai for these three wins, which, if historical, are dated by Moretti to 500, 496 and 492. Raubitschek, however, feels K. II's dedication of ca. 480 on the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 111; *IG* I^2 607, a bronze statue of Aphrodite by Kalamis) commemorates these victories.

Grandson of K. I, K. was politically and diplomatically active (as in the Peace of Kallias). His was one of the richest families in fifth-century Greece. His nickname *lakkoploutos* is explained by various stories (such as that of the Persian gold from Marathon, Plut. *Aris.* 5.7-8) but derives from to the family's mining profits. Adult and already *dadouch* by 490, K. married Elpinike, sister of Kimon II (Plut. *Cim.* 4.8), probably after the death of Miltiades IV in 489 (see *APF* 8428

X). He had one child, Hipponikos II, who was a general in the Archidamian War and who married the ex-wife of Pericles. They had two children: a daughter Hipparete married Alcibiades III in the late 420s (see *APF* 600 VIII); and a son Kallias III, ridiculed by the comic poets for his extravagance.

A32. Κάλλιππος ... Ἀθηναῖος 332

pentathlon
Ol.
Paus. 5.21.5-7; Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 850b
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 460; *PA* 8056

K.'s claim to fame is that he was convicted of bribery of his opponents at Olympia (cf. the case of Eupolis in 388, *Olym.* no. 384). Athens sent Hyperides (orat. ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου πρὸς Ἠλείους, fr. 111, 112 Bl.) to contest the fine, and Ps. Plutarch and Pausanias disagree on Hyperides' success or failure. After resisting, Athens eventually was forced, through the influence of Delphi, to dedicate six *Zanes* at Olympia.

There is no evidence relating this K. to the liturgical class but the name occurs frequently there in the fourth century (see *APF*, pp. 274-77).

A33. Κί[κ]ων ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

[ζεύγει πομπικῶι]
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.41
PA 8421; *APF* p. 574

Davies feels this K. probably was related to a priest of Aphrodite in the mid-fourth century (*PA* 8420; *IG* II^2 4586) and that both were probably relatives of the liturgical class individual Χειμεὺς Κίκωνος Λακιάδης (*APF* 15545).

A34. Κίμων I Στησαγόρου Ἀθηναῖος 536, 532, 528

chariot
Ol.
Hdt. 6.103; Ael. *VH* 9.32; Plut. *Cato Major* 5.4
APF 8426, see 8429, biblio. pp. 293-94, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* nos. 120, 124, 127. Henry, R. Immerwahr, "Stesagoras II," *TAPA* 103 (1972): 181-86

After the death of Kypselos, father of Miltiades I, his widow married Stesagoras, father of K. I who was born ca. 585. K. I thus was half-brother of Miltiades I, the Olympic chariot victor and tyrant of the Chersonese.

Nicknamed κοάλεμος, K. I had birth and wealth but his three Olympic wins are his only known public activity. He won first while in exile in 536 (Hdt. 6.103.1-2) and gave over his second win in 532 to Pisistratus in exchange for returning from exile. On the confusing tradition concerning his wins and mares, see Moretti, p. 72. His death shortly after his third win in 528 may have been influenced by Hippias (Hdt. 6.39.1; 6.103.3). K.'s son Miltiades IV was the politician, hero of Marathon, and successor to Miltiades III in the Chersonese. K.'s grandson was the famous Kimon II of fifth-century Athenian politics.

A35. [Κλέα]νδρο[ς ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338
[συνωρίδι ἀκάμπιον]
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.38

A36. [Κ]λέαρχος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338
[κέλητι πολεμιστηρίωι]
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.42

A37. Κράτης Ἑορτίου Πειραιεύς early fourth century
apobates
Panath.
Agora Mus. S399 (Inv. no. 8114)
T.L. Shear, "The Sculpture Found in 1933," *Hesp.* 4 (1935): 379-81; *Agora XIV*, 121, pl. 66a; Thompson, "Panathenaic Festival," 228; (not in *Agora III*).

A marble base with a relief of an apobates, found in the Agora, was dedicated by K. who is otherwise unknown.

A38. [Κράτι]ος [Ἀλκμέωνος I] [Ἀλωπεκῆθεν] 550 (?)
pentathlon (?)
Panath. (?)
IG I^2 472; Moretti, *IAG* 8-10, no. 4; *DAA* 338-40, no. 317; *SEG* XIV 12, D. 317; *SEG* XIV 13; Jeffery, *Scripts*, 73, no. 25
APF p. 374; Bicknell, *Politics and Genealogy*, "Kallias Kratiou," 64-71, stemma p. 75

This person was co-dedicant (and presumably a brother) with Alkmeonides I (A6) of a base on the Acropolis in the mid-sixth century with the following inscription: [---]ος⁝ κἀλκμεο[νί]δης⁝ πέντ[ε⁝ hίπ]ιόν τε ν[ικ]έσαντε ἀνε[θέτεν]. The festival is uncertain but Moretti suggests the Panathenaea of 550/49 or 546/5. Jeffery sees this dedication as slightly earlier than one made by Alkmeonides in Boeotia.

Raubitschek (p. 339) had suggested a restoration of [Ἀναχσίλε]ος whom he sees as a possible brother of Alkmeonides; but this is probably excluded if Peek (*SEG* XIV 12, D. 317) is right that not more than five letters are lost. The suggestion by Jeffery ("Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica," *BSA* 57 (1962): 143-44, no. 57) of [Κροῖσ]ος is regarded by Davies as unlikely on chronological grounds.

Bicknell has suggested the father of Kallias Kratiou known from ostraca. Kallias probably was ostracized in 486/5 as a medizer (E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 21-22). Bicknell contends that this Kallias of the deme Alopeke was another Alkmeonid victim of the *demos*' displeasure. His stemma makes Kratios a son of Alkmeon I and a brother of Alkmeonides I and Megakles II. This shorter name would suit the available space better but certainly cannot be proven. Bicknell suggests a birthdate for Kratios of ca. 575, making him considerably younger than Megakles II and of suitable age to be a pentathlete ca. 550.

Further restorations of *IG* I² 472 probably will appear but at any rate the dedicant was closely associated with the Alkmeonids and shared their agonistic inclinations.

A39. [K]υδείδης Κυδιστράτου Πειραιεύς ca. 400-350

wrestling
Great Eleusinia
IG II² 3124
PA 8920

K. is unknown except for his dedicatory inscription from Eleusis.

A40. Κύλων ... Ἀθηναῖος 640

diaulos
Ol.
Hdt. 5.71; Thuc. 1.126; Plut. *Sol.* 12; Paus. 1.28.1; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.198 Schoene); Himer. *Orat.* 39.9
PA 8943; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 56; M. Lang, "Kylonian Conspiracy," *CPhil.* 62 (1967): 243-49; for additional biblio. see Sealey, *Greek States*, 98-99, n. 5

Of good birth and powerful family according to Thuc. 1.126.3 (τῶν πάλαι εὐγενής τε καὶ δυνατός), K. married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara. On his attempted tyranny after his Olympic success, see above, p. 20.

A41. [Λυκ]όφρων ... Ἀθηναῖος 468

boys' stadion
Ol.
P Oxy. 222
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 242

Moretti's reconstruction is simply one possibility; cf. C. Robert, *Hermes* 35 (1900): 168 suggesting [Φιλ]όφρων; or see H. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen*, 475-78.

A42. Λύσις I ... Αἰξωνεύς ca. mid-fifth century

chariot, horserace
Pyth., Isth., Nem.
Pl. *Lysis* 205c, 208a
APF 9567 = 9573, see 9574, stemma p. 361; R.S. Stroud, "The Gravestone of Socrates' Friend, Lysis," *Hesp.* 53 (1984): 355-60

L. I was the grandfather of L. II of Plato's *Lysis*. Davies feels that L. I is likely the L. *kalos* of many red-figure vases from the 470s and 460s (*ARV*² 1597-98), but Stroud (357 n. 7) sees this as chronologically unlikely. On L. I's hippotrophy and family, see Demokrates I (A15).

A mid-fourth-century gravestone (*IG* II² 7045) mentions Ἰσθμονίκη Λύσιδος Αἰξωνέως, probably a granddaughter of L. II. It is possible that her name may refer to the family victory at the Isthmia (G.P. Oikonomos, *AM* 37 (1912): 228; but cf. Davies, *APF*, p. 360 and Michel, *RIG* Supplement, no. 1783, p. 182).

A43. Μεγακλῆς IV Ἱπποκράτους I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 486

chariot
Pyth.
Pind. *Pyth.* 7 with Schol.
APF 9695, see 9688 X, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.*, p. 185; Krause, *PNI*, 95; Bicknell, *Politics and Genealogy*, 72-73, stemma p. 75

Pindar wrote the seventh Pythian ode for a Megakles of Athens who probably was M. the son of Hippokrates I of Alopeke, the nephew of Kleisthenes and the grandson of the Megakles II who married Agariste.

M. IV was head of the family in the 480s and was ostracized in 487/6 (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22.5 plus ostraca, see Bicknell, pp. 72-73) just before his Pythian win. He is almost certainly the father of M.V.

A44. Μεγακλῆς V Μεγακλέους IV Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 436

chariot
Ol.
Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 7, p. 201 Dr.
APF 9697, see 9688 XI, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 320

This son of the ostracized Megakles won at Olympia and later was secretary of the *tamiai* of Athena in 428/7 (*IG* I^2 237-39; *IG* I^2 261-63).

A45. Μελησίας I ... Ἀλωπεκῆθεν late sixth century

pankration
Nem.
Pind. *Ol.* 8.56-59
APF 9812, see 7268 I, biblio. pp. 230-31, stemma Table I; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides, Son of Melesias," *JHS* 52 (1932): 205-27, repr. in his *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, 1958), 239-70; M. Woloch, "Athenian Trainers in the Aeginetan Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides," *CW* 56 (1963): 102-04, 121.

Pindar says that the trainer Melesias won as a boy at Nemea and later among men in the pankration. Wade-Gery's identification of M. with the father of Pericles' opponent Thucydides is generally accepted (as by C.M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford, 1964), 150; but cf. U. von Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* (Berlin, 1922), 398, who earlier suggested that M. was an Aeginetan). As Davies explains, the two men were approximate contemporaries, the trainer was an Athenian (Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.155a), and the identification accounts for the wrestling motif frequently applied to Thucydides as a political metaphor (Ar. *Ach.* 703-12; Plut. *Per.* 11.1; *Mor.* 802c; cf. also Pl. *Meno* 94c).

A fragment of a base from the Acropolis (*IG* I^2 624; *DAA* no. 316) bears letter forms suggesting a date ca. 500. An uncertain restoration, Μελẹ[σίας---], makes it possible that this was a dedication by M. after an early victory.

Plato (*Meno* 94d) says M. was from an οἰκία μεγάλη but he is the first known member. On Thucydides' connection by marriage to Kimon and on his possible athletic experience, see P92.

A46. Μιλτιάδης III Κυψέλου Ἀθηναῖος 560 (?)

chariot
Ol.
Hdt. 6.35.1; Paus. 6.10.8; 6.19.6
APF 10209, see 8429 VI, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 106

Herodotus says M. was of a house which kept four-horse chariots (ἐὼν οἰκίης τεθριπποτρόφου, 6.35). M.'s career is very problematic, and there is debate over the date of his Olympic victory. It preceded his departure to become tyrant of the Chersonese (Hdt. 6.38). Davies suggests 548 but Moretti prefers 560 when Pisistratus established his tyranny. The oldest dedication by a chariot victor at Olympia was M.'s votive offering, an ivory horn set up in the treasury of the Sikyonians (Paus. 6.10.8; 6.19.6). The horses of M. are depicted on coins he issued after reaching the Chersonese (C.T. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage* (Cambridge, 1924), 137-38) and M. was honored with funeral games in the Chersonese after his death (Hdt. 6.38).

M.'s father Kypselos was eponymous archon in 597/6 (*Hesp.* 32 (1963): 187 frag. a, line 2) and M.'s half-brother Kimon I (A34) was also an Olympic chariot victor.

A47. Μίνως ... Ἀθηναῖος 400

stadion
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 14.35; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.203 Schoene) gives Μίνων
PA 10223; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 357

Kirchner knew of no other occurrence of this name at Athens and suggests that perhaps it should have been Μίλων.

A48. Μνησαρχίδης ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

παῖδας δόλιχον; ἵππι[ον] παῖδας
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.9,17
PA 10243

A49. Μν[ή]σ[ιππ]ο[ς ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

[ζεύγει δίαυ]λον
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.36

A50. Νικόδημος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

πύκτης παῖς ἀπὸ γυμνασίων
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.32
PA 10859

A51. Ξανθίας ... Ἀθηναῖος (?) ca. 450s

wrestling
Pl. *Meno* 94c; Ps. Pl. *De Virtute* 378a
PA 11151

Trainers of the sons of Thucydides, X. and Eudoros (A26) were considered

the finest wrestlers of their time. X. is accepted as an Athenian by Kirchner but not with certainty.

A52. Ξενοκλῆς ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 350

boys' wrestling
Panath.
IG II^2 3131
PA 11207

X.'s dedication reads: Ξενικλῆς παῖδας πά[λην] | ἐνίκα Παναθήναια τὰ με[γάλα]. The boys' πα[γκράτιον] is also possible.

This name is quite common at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries, but he may be related to the gymnasiarch and *choregos* Xenokles (*APF* 11234) of ca. 346/5.

A53. Παντακλῆς ... Ἀθηναῖος 696, 692

stadion, diaulos
Ol.
Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.195 Schoene); *IG* II^2 2326.15-17
PA 11582; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 25-27

P. won the *stadion* in 696 and 692 according to Africanus. He also won the *diaulos* in 692 according to the so-called Chronicon Olympicum (*IG* II^2 2326 = *SIG* 1056.15-17). He is otherwise unknown: there are no indications of humble status and Young (*Olympic Myth*, n. 90 on 93) feels "... there seems nothing that could even be twisted into evidence for a noble birth."

A54. Παυσίας ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

boys' boxing
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.27
PA 11729

A55. Πεισίστρατος II Ἱπποκράτους II Ἀθηναῖος 532

chariot
Ol.
Hdt. 6.103
APF 11793, biblio. p. 444, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 124

Herodotus records that in 532 Kimon I allowed P. to be declared victor when Kimon's team won its second Olympic victory, and that in return Kimon was permitted to return to Athens from exile.

The tyrant's family belongs in *APF* because of its wealth; on the possible hippotrophy of P.'s sons, see P95-96.

A56. Προκλείδ[η]ς ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

[συνωρίδι δίαυλον]
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.37
PA 1290

A57. Προνάπης Προναπίδου Πρασιεύς ca. 450-400

chariot

Nem., Isth., Panath.

IG II^2 3123; Raubitschek, *DAA* 205-06, no. 174

APF 12250 = 12251-12253, biblio. p. 471; Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 158-60

P.'s dedication from the Acropolis, dated by Raubitschek to ca. 450-400, records victories (clearly in the chariot race since the dedication was a four-horse chariot) at Nemea, Isthmia, the Panathenaea, and possibly elsewhere as well. Raubitschek (*DAA*, p. 464) regards P. as an aristocrat because of the nature of his dedication.

Davies considers the possible identification of P. with Προνάπης Προναπίδου Πρασιεύς (*APF* 12250) named as hipparch on a dedication (*DAA* no. 135) of the 450s or 440s. He may perhaps be identified further with P. of Prasiai (*APF* 12253) said to have been one of the prosecutors at the trial of Themistocles ca. 470 or later (Ps. Them. *Ep.* 8, p. 747 Hercher). If the identifications are correct, he is unlikely to have been born after 500 and was at least 40 when hipparch.

A58. Πυθοδῆλος Πυθοδώρου 'Αθηναῖος ca. 450

heavy athlete

Pyth., Nem.

SEG XIII 368a; *SEG* XXIV 387; Ebert, *Epigramme*, 89-92, no. 25; J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures des sculpteurs grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1953-57), 1: 87

This inscription from Delphi includes an epigram recording two wins at Delphi, seven at Nemea and five at another unknown festival. Under the epigram is inscribed Πυθόδωρος Πυθοδήλο. Ebert feels that, although P. was the victor, the dedication was made by his son Pythodelos perhaps because the victor was dead at the time of the dedication.

Ebert concludes that the victor was an Athenian from the letter forms and from the frequency of the names Pythodelos and Pythodoros at Athens. He also points to *IG* II^2 4360 of the first half of the fourth century (heavily restored via *IG* II^2 4361): [Πυθόδ]ηλος ἀνέθ[ηκε] | [Πυθοδ]ώρο | [Αἰθαλ]ίδης. He suggests that this fourth-century Attic P. (*PA* 12381) was the grandson of the Pythian victor.

From the letter forms Ebert dates the dedication to the mid-fifth century (cf. Marcadé's date of ca. 400). The event is uncertain but the use of κράτος in line 4 of the epigram suggests that P. was a heavy athlete.

A59. Πυθόστρατος ... 'Αθηναῖος (?) ca. 368

stadion

Ol.

Diod. Sic. 15.71; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)

PA 12464; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 414

Diodorus sees P. as an Athenian but Africanus says he was from Ephesus. Nothing more is known of him.

A60. Στόμας ... Ἀθηναῖος 644

stadion
Ol.
Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.198 Schoene)
PA 12810; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 54

S. is otherwise unknown.

A61. Στρατοκλῆς ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 366-338

boys' pentathlon
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.26
PA 12932; *APF*, pp. 494-95

Davies feels this victor could well be the orator Στρατοκλῆς II Εὐθυδήμου Διομειεύς (*APF* 12938) who had an active political career (biblio. *APF*, p. 494) and came from a wealthy, liturgically active family of the fourth century.

A62. Σώσιππος ... Ἀθηναῖος 388

stadion
Ol.
Diod. Sic. 14.107; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)
PA 13271; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 382

An Athenian in Diodorus and a Delphian in Africanus, S. is otherwise unknown. The *Sosippus* of Anaxandrides (Edmonds *FAC* 2: frag. 44) may have referred to S.

A63. Τεισίας Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν 416

chariot
Ol.
Isoc. 16; Ps. Andoc. 4.26; Diod. Sic. 13.74.3-4; Plut. *Alc.* 12.3
APF 13479, biblio. p. 501, stemma p. 503; Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 134-40

Historiographic problems exist with the four accounts of a conflict between Alcibiades III and an Athenian friend concerning A.'s actions at Olympia in 416. In brief, the friend wanted to compete at Olympia and, hearing of a ἅρμα δημόσιον at Argos, he persuaded A. to buy the team for him. A. did this but entered the team in his own name (and according to Diodorus was proclaimed victor because of this team). Hatzfeld and Davies agree that A. used the friend's rather than his own money. The subsequent lawsuit was unsettled ca. 390 giving rise to Isocrates' speech for A.'s son.

The name of the friend is uncertain. Isocrates gives Teisias while the other sources say Diomedes. Davies makes a good case for accepting Teisias (cf. Hatzfeld) and further identifies him with *APF* 13479, a general in 417/6 (Thuc. 5.84.3, the Melian dialogue). For further details of the man's political career, see *APF*, pp. 502-03.

A64. Τιμόδημος I Τιμονόου Ἀχαρνεύς 460 (?)

pankration
Nem., Ol.
Pind. *Nem.* 2, with Schol. p. 29 Dr.

PA 13681; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 262; Krause, *PNI*, 161-62; MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 35

Pindar records T.'s victory at Nemea, and the Scholiast adds that he won at Olympia after this. Moretti (pp. 96-97) argues that the Olympic win probably dates to 460 (cf. Farnell, *Pindar*, 252, suggesting 484). Pindar (lines 16-24) claims that T. came from a family of victors who had won four times at the Pythia, eight times at Isthmia, seven times at Nemea, and also numerous times at Athens.

The fact of the ode and the Pindaric praise of the family imply that T.'s family had status and wealth. "Timodemidai" (*Nem.* 2.18) may refer to the family or a *genos*. Since the victor grew up in Salamis, MacKendrick (unnecessarily) suggests that T. was of the *genos* of the Salaminioi.

T. apparently was an ancestor of T. II Acharneus (*PA* 13680) crowned ca. 332/1, and perhaps was a forefather of two liturgical men of that name (*APF* 13673, 13674) from the mid-fourth century.

A65. Τιμοκράτης II Ἀντιφῶντος Κριωεύς 352

ἵππων συνωρίδι

Ol.

IG II^2 3127

APF 13772, biblio. p. 513; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 440

An inscribed base from Athens records the Olympic win of T., who was born by 400 at the latest. Beyond his horse-racing, his service as syntrierarch in the early 370s (*IG* II^2 1604.83) suggests his wealth. An early member of the family was a candidate for ostracism in the 480s, but then there is a gap of two generations before T.'s father Antiphon.

Demosthenes attacked T. charging that some of his wealth came from his political activities (Dem. 24.67,200-201). His public career was well over by 353/2 (Dem. 24.66) and was marked by his association with Androtion (see *APF*, pp. 513-14).

A66. Φιλάμμων ... Ἀθηναῖος 360

boxing

Ol.

Dem. 18.319; Aeschin. 3.189 (and Schol. Laur. *ad loc.*); Arist. *Rh.* 3.11; Themist. *Or.* 21.249; see Moretti for further testimonia

Moretti, *Olym.* no. 424; not in *PA*; Harris, *GAA*, 37-38

On the date of P.'s victory, see Mortti, p. 121-22. The story in Themistius, that Aristotle sponsored P. financially, is rejected by Moretti as valueless and perhaps due to a reference to P. in Aristotle's *Rhetorica.* The orators simply refer to P. as an example of a famous contemporary athlete.

A67. Φρύιχ[ος] ... Ἀθηναῖς (?) 456

boys' wrestling

Ol.

P. Oxy. 222

Moretti, *Olym.* no. 275; K. Janell, "Chronicon Olympicum." *Klio* 21 (1927): 344ff.; not in *PA*

Janell suggests that P. was an Athenian because of the frequency of the name at Athens (for example, see *APF*, p. 558).

A68. Φρύνων ... Ἀθηναῖος 636

pankration (?)

Ol. Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.200 Schoene); Strabo 13.1.38; Diog. Laer. 1.74; see Moretti for further testimonia

PA 15029; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 58; Gardiner, *GASF*, 73; Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, 89-90

There is some confusion over P.'s event (see Moretti, p. 66); Africanus says it was the *stadion* but it was probably the *pankration* as in Diogenes.

P. is probably the general who led the Athenian expedition against Sigeion and fell in single combat against Pittakos of Mytilene in 607/6 (Strabo 13.599-600); his role as *oikistes* at Sigeion and later at Alaios suggests his aristocratic status. Pleket, "Zur Soziologie," 163, accepts P. as an aristocrat but Young, *Olympic Myth*, n. 59 on 160-61, disagrees.

A69. Φωκίδης ... Ἀθηναῖος 364

stadion

Ol.

Diod. Sic. 15.78; Afric. (*apud* Euseb. 1.206 Schoene)

PA 15069; Moretti, *Olym.* no. 419; A.E. Raubitschek, s.v., *PW* XX (1941), 457-58

Eusebius errs in attributing the win to the wrestling contest. Nothing else is known of P.

A70. Φῶκος II Φωκίωνος Ἀθηναῖος ca. 320s

apobates

Panath.

Plut. *Phoc.* 20.1

APF 15081, see 15076, biblio. p. 559, stemma see 8334

P.'s father Phokion was a pupil of Plato (Plut. *Phoc.* 4.2; 14.7; *Mor.* 1126c) and held the generalship 45 times (Plut. *Phoc.* 8.2). Since the father died in 318, P.'s victory probably dates to the 320s.

Davies regards the family as of at least rentier status but their deme remains unknown.

A71. Χαβρίας Κτησίππου I Αἰξωνεύς 374

chariot

Pyth.

Ps. Dem. 59.33

APF 15086, biblio. p. 560, stemma Table II; Krause, *PNI*, 88

Ps. Demosthenes declares that Chabrias was victorious at the Pythia with a chariot that he had bought from the sons of Mitys, the Argive. This Chabrias was general in 390/89 and Phokion was his protégé and lieutenant. His wealth and conspicuous consumption are well attested; he held several liturgies and was granted *sitesis* and other honors after Naxos (Dem. 20.75,84,146).

Davies feels Chabrias' father, a trierarch in 377/6 (*IG* II^2 16.87) was independently wealthy enough to count as a member of the liturgical class. Thus

Chabrias can be distinguished from those contemporaries of his whose military talents were their only means of escape from poverty. Chabrias was related through his father-in-law Eryximachos (Ps. Dem. 40.24) to the great family network which included Kleon and the Gephyraioi (see *APF* 11907 and Table II).

A72. Χαρίσανδρος ... 'Αθηναῖος ca. 366-338

παῖδας [πά]λην ἀπὸ γυμνασίων
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.31
PA 15472

A73. [...]λος Προμάχου 'Ελευσ[ίνιος] before 350

συνωρ[ίδι]
Panath., Eleusinia (?)
IG II² 3126
PA 12245; see *APF* 12245

After the name, this dedication from Eleusis is restored extensively to read: [ἀνέθη]κεν νικήσας συνωρ[ίδι 'Ελευσίνι]α?, Παναθήναια τὰ μ[εγάλα].

Davies accepts the father into *APF* on the basis of this dedication alone.

A74. [-]ς Καλαίσχρου 'Αθηναῖος second half of the fifth century

(?)
Isth., Nem.
IG I² 829
PA 7751; *APF*, p. 327; A.E. Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 157-58; Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, 181; E.D. Francis and M. Vickers, "Leagros Kalos," *PCPS* 207 (1981): 115, 122

A statue base found at Salamis bears a dedication to the Twelve Gods in commemoration of two victories at the Isthmian and two at the Nemean Games. The dedication dates to the second half of the fifth century. Raubitschek feels the dedication belongs to the sanctuaries of these dieties in the Athenian Agora; and he refers the name to Κριτίας IV Καλλαίσχρου II ('Ερεχθηίδης φ) (*APF* 8792), one of the Thirty Tyrants, an aristocrat, writer and relative of Plato (see *APF* Table I). Davies, dating the birth of Kritias ca. 460, feels the date of the dedication is compatible but the restoration is uncertain (cf. *SEG* X 324). He also suggests that if the famous Kritias had won these four victories there should be some echo in the literary tradition. As Davies notes, Kallaischros is not an uncommon name in the fifth century and we cannot assume that all bearers of the name were connected to the tyrant's family. Francis and Vickers admit that we do not know for certain that the base was originally established in the Athenian Agora, but they conjecture that the dedicant and the father were descendants of a K. said by Vitruvius (7 praef. 15) to be one of the architects of the Pisistratid Olympieion (cf. Davies, *APF* 8792, p. 325, who disagrees). Francis and Vickers further argue that the new dedication was associated with the refurbishment of the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the 430s.

For a theory concerning the identity of this victor, see A78.

A75. [...]ας ... 'Αθηναῖος ca. 366-338

παῖς παγκράτιον [ἀπὸ γ]υμνασίων
Amphiaraia
Oropos 47.34

A76. [...]λος ... Ἀθηναῖος 468

hoplitodromos
Ol.
P Oxy. 222
Moretti, *Olym.* no. 245

For examples of many possible restorations, see Moretti, p. 93.

A77. (?) Εὐάλκους Ἀθηναῖος 394

boys' stadion entrant
Ol.
Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.40; Plut. *Ages.* 13.3

Xenophon and Plutarch record that Agesilaus aided the entry of this boy in the stadion at Olympia; there was a problem because the boy was bigger than the other boys. There is no mention of a victory. Agesilaus was performing a favor for his guest-friend, the son of Pharnabazus, satrap of Asia, who was enamored of the Athenian boy.

The name Eualkos is known from the late fourth century (see *APF*, p. 187, see 10807) but nothing is known about the father of this athlete.

A78. (?) ... Μυρρινούσιος (?) ca. second half of the fifth century

horserace
Isth., Nem.
Lysias 19.63
APF, pp. 200-201; Adams, *Lysias*, 160-68, 211

Lysias 19 was delivered in 388 or 387 by a son of unknown name, a thirty-year-old trierarch at the time (Lys. 19.63). The speaker's father had been wealthy and kept and trained racehorses, having won victories at Isthmia and Nemea (19.63); he also had held many liturgies (19.59). The speaker's father had married the daughter of Xenophon son of Euripides (*APF* 5951). This Xenophon was a general at Samos in 441/0 and Potidaia in the 420s. The father died as trierarch (Lys. 19.62) in 389 or 388 at the age of 70 (19.58,60) and therefore was born ca. 459/8.

The speaker's father had three children (see *APF*, stemma p. 203): 1) the speaker of Lysias 19 who married the daughter of Kritodemos I of Alopeke; 2) a daughter who married Philomelos II of Paiania; 3) a daughter who married twice, first to her cousin Phaidros son of Pythokleos—the Phaidros of the Platonic dialogues (see *APF* 13960)—and second to Aristophanes son of the Nikophemos who was associated with Euagoras in Cyprus.

The name and deme of the father of the speaker are unknown but since his son-in-law Phaidros of Myrrhinous was also his nephew (Lys. 19.15) there is a fifty per cent chance that the father was of this deme. Davies feels that the father and son may have been connected with the Socratic circle; this might explain the *invidia* in which they were held and it would account for the two speeches made by Lysias on their behalf. The father's long-standing friendship with Konon accounts for his presence as trierarch on Konon's expedition to the Peloponnese in 393 (Lys. 19.12).

I suggest that the victorious father of the speaker of Lysias 19 may be the [-]ς Καλαίσχρου of *IG* I^2 829 (see A74). Admittedly the identification would be much stronger if K.'s son's base were more suggestive of equestrian than gymnastic victory, but both K. and the father of the speaker of Lysias 19 won

Isthmian and Nemean victories and the father's lifespan is compatible with the dedication. Furthermore, if there is some connection between the son of Kallaischros and the family of the tyrant Kritias, this would be very compatible with the wealthy, military, Platonic and right-wing aspects of the family of Lysias 19.

Catalogue II: Possible Athletes (P)

P79. Ἁγνίας ... Ἀθηναῖος second half of the fifth century

pentathlon (?)

IG I² 738; Raubitschek, *DAA*, 416-17, no. 388

This Hagnias dedicated a stone discus on the Acropolis. He may be related or identical to Ἁγνίας I Βουσέλου (*APF* 132, see 2921 V) whose family had wealth above the minimal liturgical status.

P80. Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου I Κοθωκίδης ca. 380

boxer or wrestler

Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 840a; Aeschin. (*In Ctes.*) 3.255

APF 354, see 14625 II, biblio. p. 543, stemma p. 546

Ps. Plutarch says that when Aeschines the orator was young and physically strong he worked hard in the gymnasia (νέος δ' ὢν καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει). His father (Atrometos A11) was an athlete as possibly was his brother (Philochares P115). Cf. Aeschin. (*In Ctes.*) 3.255, which charges that Demosthenes did not spend his youth in hunting and gymnastics but rather in developing his skill in hunting men of property. Although polemical, A. may be casting himself in a good light by associating a gymnastic background with worthiness (3.179-80). The argument that Olympic success requires dedication but brings undying fame (3.189) also may imply that A. was sympathetic to gymnastic athletics. Furthermore. A.'s use of athletic metaphors in 3.205-06 (such as πάλαιμα, παρεμβολή, and ἐμβάλλειν, as noted by Poliakoff, *Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, 28, 30) may derive from his own experience.

A. was born ca. 397/6 or 399 and married into the liturgical class family of Philokrates I. Davies (p. 547) feels A. had wealth enough (properties abroad and money from political bribes) to be of the liturgical class but he held no liturgies (Dem. 18.311-12). The application of ἱπποτρόφος to A. by Demosthenes (18.320) may mean that A. (with Alexander's help) kept a military or athletic horse, or possibly it just suggests the A. had become richer under Macedonian influence. For references to A.'s extensive political activity, see M.H. Hansen, "*Rhetores* and *Strategoi*," *GRBS* 24 (1983): 159-60.

Harris (*GAA*, 117) unconvincingly argues that Demosthenes (18.129, *Speech on the Crown*) berated A. as an ἀνδρίας, which he interprets from Epictetus 3.12.10 as "sparring partner" or colloquially "statue." Epictetus refers to training with a sparring partner as "embracing a statue." The usual interpretation (F.P. Donelly, *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown* (New York, 1941), 281-82; W.W. Goodwin, *Demosthenes on the Crown* (Cambridge, (1904) 1957), 80), based on Bekker, *Anecd.* 394.29, takes it as "pretty doll" or "ornamental statue." A reference to acting rather than sports is more likely since Demosthenes refers to A. in the same passage as τριταγωνιστής or third part actor.

P81. 'Αντ[--] ... 'Αχα[ρνεύς] second half of the fourth century

runner (?)
IG II² 3134

See Antigenes P82.

P82. 'Αντιγένης ... Λακιάδης second half of the fourth century

runner (?)
IG II² 3134
Brouskari, *Acrop. Mus.*, 18-19, fig. 4, biblio. p. 19

On three sides this base from the Acropolis bears reliefs of naked youths exercising. The left face depicts six youths (not five as in *IG*) and some names are preserved below them. Under the third is A., under the fourth Idomeneus, under the fifth Ant[--]. The art is characteristic of the period and may reveal the influence of Lysippos (fl. 328).

It is interesting that the three youths came from the same tribe (Oineis) but from different demes. In fact one comes from a city trittys (Lakiadai), one from a coastal trittys (Oe), and one from an inland trittys (Acharnai) (see J. Traill, *Hesp.* Suppl. 14 (1975): 48-50, Topographical Table VI). Of different demes, the three are not of the same family but appear to be connected somehow in an athletic context. Some team event, possibly a torch race, seems likely.

P83. 'Αντιδωρίδης II Στεφάνου 'Εροιάδης ca. 340s

stadion
Ps. Dem. 59.121
PA 1021

A. is called "the stadiodromos" in a speech against Neaera, his mother, charging her as an alien. The speaker Apollodoros tries to avenge himself on A.'s father, Stephanos the rhetor (Ps. Dem. 59.43; Ath. 13.593f). In 349 Stephanos had indicted Apollodoros on a charge of *graphe paranomon* (Ps. Dem. 59.4-6). *PA* dates the speech against Neaera to 343-340. Stephanos was a sycophant and became a rhetor but owned no property (Ps. Dem. 59.42-43).

The civic status of Neaera's three children previous to her marriage to Stephanos is questionable, but A. is not listed with these (37-38). He is mentioned later (121) and thus was the product of the marriage to Stephanos of later than 372.

P84. 'Αντιφῶν I ... 'Αθηναῖος fl. ca. 500

chariot or horserace
Pl. *Prm.* 126c
APF 1275, see 8792 VIII, stemma Table I

Plato comments that A.'s grandson, A. II, inherited A.'s name and his passion for horses (ἐπεὶ νῦν γε κατὰ τὸν πάππον τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον πρὸς ἱππικῇ τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβει).

Not to be confused with the orator, A. I was the father-in-law of Glaukon IV and was connected to the aristocratic, politically right-wing family of Kritias IV the tyrant.

P85. Ἀντιφῶν II Πυριλάμπους Ἀθηναῖος born ca. 425

chariot or horserace
Pl. *Prm.* 126c
APF 1284, see 8792 VIII, stemma Table I

See Antiphon I (P84).

P86. Ἀρι[στ--] Φιλω[--] Ἀθηναῖος ca. 350

event unknown
Isth.
IG II² 3129; *SEG* XXII (1967) 203
Hyde, *OVM*, 27

This dedication from the Acropolis is fragmentary: Ἀρι[στ--] | Φιλω[--] | νίκα vel νῖκα[ι] | Ἰσθ[μοι] | - - -. The event is lost but quite possibly was athletic. Chronologically this could be the Olympic victor of 344, see Aristolochos (A10).

P87. Εὐριπίδης Μνησαρχίδου I Φλυεύς ca. 470

pankration and boxing
Eleusinia, Theseia
Vita Euripidis; Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 15.20
PA 5953; M. Delcourt, "Biographies anciennes d'Euripide," *Ant. Class.* 2 (1933): 272-76; Mary R. Lefkowitz, "The Euripides Vita," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 187-209 (repr. in *Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore, 1981); W.N. Bates, *Euripides* (New York, (1930) 1969), 206; G. Murray, *Euripides and his Age* (London, (1918) 1965), 20.

The anonymous *Vita* (prefaced to A. Nauck's Teubner edition) reports (5-7) that E.'s father received a prophecy that his son would be crowned, and that E. first practised boxing and the pankration and won a victory. E. also was a torchbearer to Apollo Zoster as a youth (19). Aulus Gellius also tells the story of the prophecy and adds that E. was victorious at the Eleusinia and Theseia. He further claims that E. tried to enter at Olympia at the age of seventeen but was disallowed. These sources are unreliable but Bates and Murray accept the tradition of E.'s athletic talent. Jüthner-Brein (1 : 95, n. 260) further feel that only a "philogymnast" could have written *Iph. Aul.* 199 concerning Diomedes' enjoyment of the discus.

Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F21) says that both of E.'s parents were well-born, rather than a storekeeper and a vegetable seller as in *Vita* 1. Ath. 10.424e says E. was a cupbearer to a chorus of noble Athenians at the Thargelia, and E. had his own library (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1409). Although not in *APF*, E. was challenged to an *antidosis* (Arist. *Rh.* 3.15) and probably was of the liturgical class.

P88. Εὔφηρος ... Ἀθηναῖος pre ca. 428-426

athlete (?)
Kerameikos Mus. P797, I414; B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, "Zwei klassische Kindergräber im Kerameikos," *MDAI (A)* 79 (1964): 85-104, pls. 48-56

Two grave monuments and graves, apparently of brothers, were found in 1964 in the Kerameikos. The grave stele of E. depicts a handsome youth holding a strigil. His grave (hS202) contained the skeleton of a youth who died at the age of about fifteen. The grave also held two bronze strigils (pl. 52.1) and a chous

(pl. 52.2) with a scene of a seated youth, a second youth with a burning torch, and a torch above these two. The grave and its monument suggest that this youth was of a good household and probably was involved in athletics.

Possible relatives of E. include Πρέπις Εὐφήρου, secretary of the Boule in 422/1 (*PA* 12184; *IG* I² 311), and Καλλικράτης III Εὐφήρου Ἀφιδναῖος (*APF* 7956, see 8157 IV, stemma p. 281), a syntrierarch of pre-356 (*IG* II² 1622.165-66) related to the family of the fourth-century statesman Kallikrates. The second grave, that of Lissos, does not help identify E.

P89. Ἡγέστρατος Φίλωνος Ἀθηναῖος start of the fourth century

event unknown
Nem.
IG II² 3122
Hyde, *OVM*, 27; not in *PA*

This dedication from the Acropolis records a Nemean win in an unmentioned, possibly athletic, contest. Nothing more is known of the victor.

P90. Θεαίτητος Εὐφρονίου Σουνιεύς lifetime ca. 414-369

event unknown
Pl. *Tht.* 144c; *Soph.* 218b; *Statesman* 257c
PA 6632; K. von Fritz, s.v., *PW* Va (1934) 1351-77; MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 71 n. 64

The athletic inclinations of T. can be argued from his depiction as a youth in the Platonic dialogues. In *Theaetetus* 144c T. and his friends (including Socrates the Younger (P111)) have been rubbing themselves with oil in the gymnasium (ἐν τῷ ἔξω δρόμῳ ἠλείφοντο). T. is twice again presented as the συγγυμναστής of Socrates the Younger (*Soph.* 218b; *Statesman* 257c).

Theodoros of Cyrene praises the character and intelligence of T. who, he says, resembles Socrates (*Tht.* 143e-144c). T.'s father was a man of wealth and good standing (*eudokimos*), although T.'s property may have been squandered by his trustees (*Tht.* 144c-d). There is no need to follow MacKendrick in assuming that T. was of the Salaminioi just because he was from Sounion. T. studied mathematics with Theodoros, became a geometer, and later was wounded at Corinth (*Statesman* 266a; *Tht.* 142a, 147d).

P91. Θεμιστοκλῆς Νεοκλέους I Φρεάρριος first half of the fifth century

horserace (?)
Plut. *Them.* 5.4
APF 6669, stemma p. 221; A.J. Podlecki, *Life of Themistocles* (Montreal and London, 1975) with an extensive biblio. pp. 209-24; R.J. Lenardon, *Saga of Themistocles*, (London, 1978); F.J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles, A Historical Commentary* (Princeton, 1980); E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 221-22

Davies points out that T. tried to rival Kimon περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν (Plut. *Them.* 5.4). The occasion was perhaps the games of 476 and gave rise to other anecdotes placing T. at Olympia (Plut. *Them.* 17.4, 25.1). There is no record of T. or Kimon competing in the Olympic horse or chariot races. Plut. *Them.* 17.4 places T. in the stadium rather than the hippodrome, but Hdt. 8.124.2 records that after Salamis honors presented

to T. at Sparta included a wreath, an escort, and "the finest chariot (ὄχος) in Sparta." Davies feels that "it is likely enough" to associate T. with hippotrophy because of the anecdotes about the horse-breeder Diphilides (Plut. *Them.* 5.2) and about the chariot drawn or occupied by four hetairai (Idomeneus *FGrH* 338 F4, a-b). Peter Bicknell, "Themistocles' Father and Mother," *Hist.* 31 (1982): 161-73, also points out that T.'s son Kleophantos (P99) was well trained in horsemanship, and that his other son Neokles died after being bitten by a horse (Plut. *Them.* 32.2); Bicknell suggests (p. 163 n. 14) that such references may reflect hippotrophy as "a family preoccupation of generations" in T.'s family.

Other anecdotes associate T. with gymnastic activities: Plut. *Them.* 1.3 places him exercising at Kynosarges; the retort of T. concerning the start of footraces (Hdt. 8.59 and Plut. *Them.* 11.3). Athletics and hippotrophy would be appropriate for the family of T. since his archonship shows that he was of pentakosiomedimnal or hippic status. However, Frost's commentary is dubious about the historicity of several of the anecdotes above; see pp. 88, 128-29, 168-69, 206.

Debate continues on T.'s parents. F.D. Harvey, "Neokles, Father of Themistocles," *Hist.* 29 (1980): 110-11, argues that Neokles refers to "youthful fame" not "new fame" and rejects the idea that the name alludes to a social or political change in the status of the family. Bicknell (*op. cit.*) prefers to re-examine the name of T.'s mother, arguing for a connection to the Chersonese and concluding that T.'s family had ties to the Kimonids and so could claim both wealth and status.

P92. Θουκυδίδης I Μελεσίου I 'Αλωπεκῆθεν born ca. 500

wrestler (?)

APF 7268, biblio. p. 231, stemma Table I; H.T. Wade-Gery, "Thucydides," 205-27; A.E. Raubitschek, "Theopompus on Thucydides the Son of Melesias," *Phoenix* 14 (1960): 81-95

A wrestling motif was repeatedly applied to T. as a political metaphor (Ar. *Ach.* 703-05; Plut. *Per.* 8.5, 11.1; *Mor.* 802c; cf. also Pl. *Meno* 94c) and Pericles was his usual opponent. His father Melesias (A45) was a famous pankratiast and trainer, and his sons were trained and proficient at wrestling (P102, P110).

T.'s political activities are well known and his family relationship with Kimon is consistent with his economic status and political stance. T.'s demotic leads Davies to feel that he owned farmland south of Athens (on his other sources of income, see *APF*, pp. 236-37).

P93. Θρασύβουλος Φιλομήλου 'Αθηναῖος ca. 550

hippotrophy

P Oxy. IV 664

APF, p. 238, see 11793 V

Davies discusses an anecdote going as far back as Ephorus (Diod. Sic. 9.37.1). concerning a daughter of Pisistratus married to a youth named Thrasyboulos (Plut. *Mor.* 189c, 457f; Polyain. 5.14 mistakenly gives Thrasymedes: Val. Max. 5.1, ext. 2). The most circumstantial account is a fragmentary dialogue (*P Oxy.* IV 664) whose dramatic date falls in the 550s but Davies and Grenfell-Hunt suspect a fourth-century source. This dialogue (col. 1.26-29) dwells on T.'s horsebreeding and other excesses.

It is quite conceivable that relatives of the tyrant were hippotrophic but the historicity of T. is highly suspect.

P94. Ἰδομενεύς ... Ὀῆθεν second half of the fourth century

runner (?)
IG II² 3134
Brouskari, *Acrop. Mus.*, 18-19, fig. 4, biblio. p. 19

See the discussion of Antigenes (P82).

P95. Ἵππαρχος Πεισιστράτου II Ἀθηναῖος ca. 540

horserace (?)
Pyth. (?)
Acropolis Mus. 590
APF 7600, see 11793 IV, biblio. p. 444, stemma Table I; Brouskari, *Acrop. Mus.*, 55-56; Payne-Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, 6, 51, pl. 11a-c

The famous Rampin Rider sculpture from the Acropolis consists of a marble horse and a naked rider with a wreath of wild celery, the prize at the Nemean and Isthmian Games. Fragments suggest that the monument was a pair of horsemen side by side. H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1939), 3 vols., 3: 212, no. 312, pls. 134-37, suggested the the two riders were the sons of Pisistratus, Hipparchos and Hippias, as winners of a horserace at the Pythia. John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture* (New York and Toronto, 1978), 75, sees the suggestion as credible only if the work is later than Pisistratus' return to power in 546, which is not impossible. He further wonders if such statues would have survived the end of the tyranny in 510.

Two inscriptions discussed by Jeffery (*Scripts*, 75, nos. 35, 38) are of possible relevance here. One is a herm from Attica inscribed with an epigram by Hipparchos dating ca. 520-514. The second is a base for a tripod (?) dedicated at the Ptoion in Boeotia (Ducat, *Les kouroi du Ptoion*, 251 ff, no. 142, pls. 73-74) by Hipparchos ca. 520-514; cf. the dedication made there earlier by Alkmeonides I (A6). Hippotrophy would be a suitable pastime for the tyrant's sons and the frequency of names with "Hipp-" in the family is intriguing.

P96. Ἱππίας Πεισιστράτου II Ἀθηναῖος ca. 540

horserace (?)
Pyth. (?)
Acrop. Mus. 590
APF 7605, see 11793 IV, stemma Table I

See the discussion of Hipparchos (P95).

P97. Ἱπποκλείδης Τεισάνδρου I Ἀθηναῖος ca. 570s

athlete (?)
Hdt. 6.126-30
APF 7617, see 8429 II, stemma Table I

Described by Herodotus (6.126) as "the wealthiest and best looking man in Athens," H. was a suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon in the 570s and athletic ability was a criterion in the contest for Agariste's hand. Davies (pp. 310-11) feels H. by his name may have raced horses.

A member of the rich, hippotrophic family of Kimon, a cousin of Miltiades III, H. was archon probably in 566/5, and his possible role in the reorganization of the Panathenaic Games has been discussed above, p. 25ff.

P98. Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου I Ἐρχιεύς ca. 420

horserace

Ps. Plut. *X orat.* 839c

APF 7716, biblio. p. 245, stemma p. 248; Hyde, *OVM*, 373; Rouse, *Votive Offerings*, 166-67; MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 3

Ps. Plutarch says that I. rode a horse when he was still a boy (λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσαι ἔτι παῖς ὤν) for there was a statue of him as a boy riding a horse on the Acropolis. Rouse feels the statue possibly was a dedication after a race. This leads Davies to speculate that the family must have had some landed property, presumably in the family deme of Erchia.

I.'s father Theodoros was one of the 400 richest men in Athens in the 430s and 420s and thus was able to afford the expensive rhetorical training for his son before the loss of the family property during the Peloponnesian War (Isoc. 15.161). Through his speech writing and his school of rhetoric I. restored his family's economic position.

P99. Κλεόφαντος Θεμιστοκλέους I Φρεάρριος ca. 450s

horserace

Pl. *Meno* 93d-e; Plut. *Them.* 32.1

APF 8635, see 6669 VI, stemma p. 221

Plutarch, citing Plato, says that K. was a fine horseman (ὡς ἱππέως ἀρίστου) but otherwise a good-for-nothing. Plato declares that Themistocles had his son so well trained in horsemanship that he could stand upright on horseback and throw a javelin from that position (ἠκόντιζεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὀρθός).

Suda s.v. Θεμιστοκλέους παῖδες says that Neocles and Demopolis, other sons of Themistocles, were victors in running events in the *epitaphios agon*. F.J. Frost, "Phylarchus, Fragment 76," *AJPhil.* 83 (1962): 419-22, attributes the story and a reference in Plut. *Them.* 32.4 to Phylarchus, but feels that Plutarch is correct in rejecting it out of hand.

P100. Λέαγρος Γλαύκωνος I ἐκ Κεραμέων late sixth century

pentathlon (?)

Panath. (?)

SEG X 319 = B.D. Merrit, *Hesp.* 5 (1936): 358, no. 2 = *Agora III* 122

APF 9023, see 3027, p. 596, biblio. p. 90, stemma Table I; *Agora XIV* 132; Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 160-64; E. Vanderpool, "Ostracism at Athens," 231; D.M. Robertson and F.J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love Names* (Baltimore, 1937), 132-34; E.D. Francis and Michael Vickers, "Leagros Kalos," *PCPS* 207 (1981): 97-136

According to Raubitschek's conventional interpretation, L.'s inscribed dedication to the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora before 480 (see the extensive biblio. in Raubitschek, 160, n. 5) probably was a victory dedication. Since "Leagros *kalos*" appears on a vase-painting of ca. 510-500 depicting an athletic statue (*ARV*² 177 no. 3, the Kiss Painter's Cup; also see L. as *kalos* in athletic scenes on *ABV* 362 no. 65 and *ARV*² 15 no. 13), Raubitschek contends that L. was born ca. 525 (Ps. Them. *Ep.* 8 in *Epist. Graec.*, ed. Hercher, 747-50 says L. was a contemporary of Themistocles), and that he was a youthful victor possibly at the Panathenaea and probably in the *pentathlon* since the youth holds a javelin.

The dedication, made by L. as a mature man, may show his political significance, which led to his generalship in 465/4 (Hdt. 9.75; Paus. 1.29.5).

L.'s son Glaukon II (*APF* 3027, p. 91, stemma Table I), born ca. 490, also appears frequently as *kalos* ca. 475-465 (*ARV*^{2} 1580f.). Davies points out that the Nolan amphora (*ARV*^{2} 1581, no. 20) names Glaukon as *kalos* but also shows a tripod on a base reading Ἀκαμαντὶς ἐνίκε φυλέ, implying that he gained a victory as a *choregos* or gymnasiarch in the 460s. Glaukon himself was a general at Samos in 441/0 (Androtion *FGrH* 324 F38) and his daughter married Kallias III of Alopeke in the late 420s (see *APF* 7826 XI).

Recently, in a lengthy review of the sources and problems of interpretation, which accepts the identification of the statue in the Kiss Painter's Cup with that of Leagros' base as not certain but likely, Francis and Vickers have offered a new interpretation arguing (124) that L. dedicated his victor statue shortly after 480 to commemorate a victory as a boy in the Olympic men's *pentathlon* of 480. They see the boy in the cup as L. and the older man as Glaukon, a trainer, or an *erastes*. They would move L.'s birth date from ca. 525 to ca. 495, reject the testimony of Ps. Them. concerning synepheby as unreliable, and redate the base from pre-480s to 470s. Such redatings and their rejection of L.'s name on vases as a "form of date stamp" are part of their effort to lower the chronology of archaic art (cf. *JHS* 103 (1983): 49-67).

Francis and Vickers suggest an Olympic victory from the depiction of an olive wreath on the cup; and, because the boys' *pentathlon* is known at Olympia only for Olympiad 38 in 628, they argue that L. as a boy entered the men's contest. They suggest that he won a spectacular victory, perhaps aided by a restricted field of mature competitors due to the Persian War. Noting L.'s candidacy for ostracism (53 ostraca from the Kerameikos bear this name (F. Willemsen, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos, 1966," *Deltion* 23 B [1968] 24-32) but the name is common; see W.E. Thompson, "Leagros," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971): 328-35), they suggest that L. possibly was patronized politically by Kimon concerning the Thracian campaign (106-08). They further suggest that the same L. dedicated a choregic dedication (B.D. Meritt, "The Choregic Dedication of Leagros," *GRBS* 8 (1967): 45-52), which they redate to ca. 450. They also argue that L. and not his son Glaukon was the patron of the Acamantid victory represented on the Nolan amphora, which they redate to ca. 450, claiming that G. simply was *kalos* rather than *choregos*. Francis and Vickers admit that their hypotheses are speculative, and their chronological arguments remain debatable.

P101. Μεγακλῆς II Ἀλκμέωνος I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ca. 570s

athlete (?)
Hdt. 6.126-30
APF 9692, see 9688 III, stemma Table I; Forbes, *GPE*, 187

M. was the successful suitor of Agariste of Sikyon and athletic ability may have aided his success (cf. P97). He reappears in the 560s and 550s as the head of the Alkmeonidai and leader of the Paralia faction (Hdt. 1.59.3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 13.4), and his daughter was unsuccessfully wed to Pisistratus.

An inscribed grave monument of ca. 550 from the Kerameikos appears to name a [--]κλες and to mention an Olympic victor. The stone was set up by the mother (Keram. Mus. I332; Pfohl, *Greek Poems on Stone*, no. 29). Willemsen (*MDAI(A)* 78 (1963): 105, 110-17, no. 2) argues that the Olympic victor was Alkmeon I, that the stone recorded the death of M. II, and that the mother was Koisyra.

Davies feels that the date of ca. 550 is possible for the death of M. II but there is no need to assume that the Olympic victory was Almeon's chariot win. The Alkmeonidai won several victories and the inscription is too fragmentary for a sound ascription.

P102. Μελησίας II Θουκυδίδου I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ca. 450

wrestler
Pl. *Meno* 94c; Ps. Pl. *De Virtute* 378a
APF 9813, see 7268 III, stemma Table I; R.S. Bluck, ed. and comm., *Plato's Meno* (Cambridge, 1961), 377-80

Plato says that Thucydides had his sons, M. II and Stephanos (P110), given over to renowned trainers (A51 and A26) and that the lads "wrestled most beautifully of the Athenians" (ἐπάλαισαν κάλλιστα Ἀθηναίων). Heavy athletics appear to have been a family tradition. Born in the 470s M. II was an ἀπράγμων for most of his life (Pl. *Lach.* 179c; *Meno* 94c-d) but became one of the Four Hundred in 411 (Thuc. 8.86.9).

P103. Μέναδρος ... Ἀθηναῖος ca. 510

pankration (?)
Bacchyl. *Ode* 12.190-98; Pind. *Nem.* 5.48-49
M. Woloch, "Athenian Trainers in the Aeginetan Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides," *CW* 56 (1963): 102-02, 121

A successful trainer like Melesias (A45), M. was probably a former athlete. Woloch assumes that both men were aristocrats.

P104. Μιλτιάδης VI Στησαγόρου II (Λακιάδης) second half of the fifth century

athlete (?)
Aeschin. *Miltiades* (F37 Dittmar)
APF 10207, see 8429 XV, stemma Table I

M. VI is mentioned in, and possibly was eponym of, Aeschines' Socratic dialogue *Miltiades* as a devotee of physical training who kept his body most excellently of the men of his age. He was an approximate contemporary of Socrates. Given the agonistic tradition of Kimon's family, it is quite possible that M. was an athletic competitor in his youth.

P105. Ξάνθιππος II Περικλέους I Χολαργεύς 430s

horseman
Pl. *Meno* 94b
APF 11170, see 11811, stemma Table I; Bluck, *Plato's Meno*, 375-76

Plato says Pericles taught his sons, X. and Paralos (P106), to be horsemen so that they were second to none of the Athenians, and that he educated them in music and athletics (καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ ἀγωνίαν) and other skills such that they were second to none. The noun ἡ ἀγωνία (*LSJ* s.v.) means a struggle for victory or, as probably in this case, gymnastic exercise or wrestling.

Both of Pericles' sons died in the plague in 430 and belong in the *APF* registry by virtue of Pericles' choregia and his public benefactions. Plutarch (*Per.* 36) depicts X. as a spendthrift who disliked Pericles' economy.

P106. Πάραλος Περικλέους I Χολαργεύς 430s

horseman

Pl. *Meno* 94b

APF 11612, see 11811 III, stemma Table I

See the discussion of Xanthippos II (P105).

P107. Πλάτων Ἀρίστωνος Κολλυτεύς late fifth century

wrestler

Isth., Pyth. (?)

Apul. *De Dog. Plat.* 1.2; Diog. Laer. *Vita Plat.* 3.4; Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iul.* 6.208; *Anon. Proleg.* 2.26-28

A.S. Riginos, *Platonica* (Leiden, 1976), Anecdote 12, pp. 41-43, 49-51; *APF* 11855, see 8792 XI, stemma Table I; Moretti, *Olym.*, 182-83, no. 1019; MacKendrick, *Athenian Aristocracy*, 3, 12

Dicaearchus of Messene, a pupil of Aristotle, cited by Diogenes Laertius, was probably the source of the tradition of P.'s wrestling career. For a discussion and complete list of testimonia, see Riginos. The accounts vary, presenting P. as a competitor in various festivals of the Periodos and as a victor (*Anon. Proleg.*) at Isthmia and Delphi. Participation at the Isthmian Games goes back to Dicaearchus, but the theme of gymnastic education can be traced to themes in P.'s own writing.

That P.'s wrestling teacher was an Argive named Ariston is given by Diogenes (citing Alexander Polyhistor. *FGrH* 273 F88) but rejected by Riginos (pp. 39-40). That "Plato" was a nickname from the man's broad chest was probably a creation of the Alexandrian etymological tradition in biography; see J. A. Notopoulos, "The Name of Plato," *CPhil.* 34 (1939): 135-45.

Moretti appropriately discounts the Olympic victory as a late attribution but seems open to the idea that P. trained and entered some games; Gardiner (*GASF*, 380) is convinced by P.'s description of wrestling (*Leg.* 7.896a) that the philosopher understood wrestling well.

P. had aristocratic, right-wing ties through his mother, the daughter of Glaukon I, and Davies feels his father was probably of gentilician background.

P108. Σ]όστ[ρα]τος [Π]ετάλου Ἀθηναῖος start of the fifth century

chariot

IG I² 500; *DAA*, 196-97, no. 171

Raubitschek is confident that a bronze monument from the Acropolis was a four-horse chariot which S. perhaps dedicated after a Panhellenic victory. He restores the name to Sostratos because this name occurs frequently on vases of the last decade of the sixth century (for example, *ABV* 674, Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love Names* (Baltimore, 1937), 180, no. 254) and was presumably a famous athlete.

There are problems in that the name is heavily restored and the scenes with *kalos* are gymnastic rather than equestrian (see *ABV* 674, *ARV*² 24 no. 11; 23 no. 1), but S. may have been an Athenian of means (a pottery patron?) who switched from gymnastic to equestrian contests as he grew older.

P109. Σοφοκλῆς I Σοφίλλου Κολωνῆθεν ca. 480

boy athlete

Anon. Βίος Σοφοκλέους (= Westermann, *Biographoi*, 127)

PA 12834; W.N. Bates, *Sophocles* (New York (1940) 1970), 1-4; T.B.L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles* (Oxford, 1936), 1-2

Tradition reports that S. was trained and won prizes as a boy in both athletics and music (*Vita* 17-18) and also that in 480 when he was 16 he was chosen to lead naked the chorus that celebrated the battle of Salamis (*Vita* 19-21; Athen. 1.20f). Athenaeus also adds that S. played ball skilfully when he put on his *Nausicaa*. Bates is willing to accept an athletic youth for S. but the similarities to traditions about Euripides suggest that S.'s victories may be later attributions (Athen. 4.184d says that Duris of Samos wrote a lost work Περὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους).

As well as a successful dramatist, S. was imperial treasurer in 443/2 (*IG* I² 202) and was elected general at least twice (Plut. *Per.* 8; *Nic.* 15). Pliny (*HN* 37.40) says S. was born into the highest station. His father probably was a wealthy industrialist rather than a tradesman or carpenter (cf. *Vita* 1-8).

P110. Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου I Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ca. 450

wrestler

Pl. *Meno* 94c; Ps. Pl. *De Virtute* 378a

APF 12884, see 7268 II, stemma Table I

See the discussion of his brother Melesias II (P102). S. served as secretary of the Boule, probably shortly before 415 (Polemon *apud* Ath. 6.234e, Alcibiades' decree concerning Kynosarges).

P111. Σωκράτης ὁ νεώτερος ... Ἀθηναῖος life ca. 414-369

athlete (?)

Pl. *Tht.* 147d; *Sophist* 218b; *Statesman* 257c

PA 13085

The younger Socrates was one of the companions of Theaitetos in a gymnasium setting (Pl. *Tht.* 144c, 147d) and is referred to as his *syngymnastes* (*Soph.* 218b; *Statesman* 257c, cf. P90). S. shares the name of the philosopher (*Statesman* 258a) but does not seem to be a close relative. He cannot be identified with certainty but may be related to S. son of Nako, the sister of Isocrates' mother (*APF* 7716, p. 246, stemma p. 248) or else S. II of Anagyrous, a councillor in the second half of the fourth century (*APF* 13102; *IG* II² 1697.16). At any rate, S. became a geometer (Arist. *Metaph.* 7.11 (1036b)) and his family must have been able to afford his education.

P112. Τιμησίθεος I Δημαινέτου I ἐκ Κεραμέων late fifth century

runner

Aeschin. 1.156

APF 13640 (cf. 13648), see 3273

In a speech of 346 (Aeschin. 1.156) T. is referred to as τὸν δρομέα. Misled by Kirchner (*PA* 13648) Davies feels that this "handsome young man" is the same as Τιμησίθεος II (Δημαινέτου II) ἐκ Κεραμέ[ων], a trierarch by 323/2 (*IG* II² 1631.538,543) from a liturgical family of the fourth century (*APF* 3273).

A re-reading of the passage is needed. The speaker says he will mention two groups (1.155): first older (πρεσβυτέρων) and well-known men who have had many lovers, and later youths and boys who have lovers today. T. is mentioned among those who have lived the life of free and honorable men (note the perfect participle of βιόω). These are "men who were the most beautiful" (perfect middle participle of γίγνομαι). With πάλιν (1.156) implying opposition or contrast, the speaker then refers to the second group, the list of youths including Antikles the "*stadiodromos*" (cf. A8). Clearly T. "the runner" is not a youth in 346 but an elder who had had athletic experience and lovers in his youth but by the 340s was older and respected.

Rather than T. II, the runner probably is his grandfather T. I, who was probably diaitetes ca. 375-360 (see E. Schweigert, "Inscriptions from the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesp.* 7 (1938): 278, no. 13.8 (*IG* II^2 143.8); also see S. Charitonies, "The First Half of a Bouleutai List of the Fourth Century B.C.," *Hesp.* 30 (1961): 51 plus stemma; cf. *Agora XV*, no. 42 line 7). T. I was born ca. 435-420, which would make him between ca. 74 and 89 at the time of Aeschines' speech and thus appropriate for the description of the runner.

P113. Τιμόθ[ε]ος I Κόν[ονος] I 'Αναφλύστιο[ς] before 450

athlete (?)
IG I^2 651; *DAA* 49, no. 47
APF 13699, see 13700, biblio. p. 506, stemma Table VI

T. was honored with a statue on the Acropolis before 450 and, in view of his apparently young age at the time, Raubitschek suggests that the statue commemorated an athletic victory. Davies finds this idea attractive since T. was born by 470 at the latest.

The first sound notices of T.'s family begin in the mid-fifth century. His father may have been Konon the archon of 462/1 (*PA* 8699) and thus of hippeis status. MacKendrick's suggestion (*Athenian Aristocracy*, 11, 70 n. 49) from very late evidence that T.'s family was of the *genos* of the Kerykes is uncompelling. Although T. is otherwise unknown, his son Konon II (*APF* 8707, see 13700) was a general in 414/3 and had a significant military and political career.

P114. Φίλιππος 'Ιασιδήμου Κολωνῆθεν ca. 400-350

event unknown
IG II^2 4564
APF 14398; Raubitschek, "Leagros," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 160-61

This syntrierarch of 366/5 (?) (*IG* II^2 1609.105) made a dedication to the Twelve Gods in the first half of the fourth century, which Raubitschek feels was set up by a victor as indicated by the crown engraved below the inscription. From similar dedications to the Twelve Gods (cf. A74 and P100), he suggests the P. won an athletic or equestrian victory.

P115. Φιλοχάρης 'Ατρομήτου I Κοθωκίδης born by 397

athlete (?)
Aeschin. 2.149
APF 14775, see 14625 II, stemma p. 546

Aeschines refers to his brother P. in a positive sense in a speech of 343 as a "frequenter of gymnasia" (ἐν γυμνασίοις διατρίβων). Since his father and

brother were possibly both athletes (see A11 and P80), P. may have been an athlete in his youth who retained his interest in middle age. He also served as a solder with Iphikrates and gained public confidence enough to become general three times (Aeschin. 2.149; Dem. 19.237).

P116. [?] ... 'Αθηναῖος ca. 350

event unknown
IG II^2 3128
Hyde, *OVM*, 27

This anonymous victor made a dedication on the Acropolis: [Π]υθιὰς | ['Ισθ]μιὰς | [Νε]μεὰς | [Παναθ]ην[αίς]. He probably was an Athenian and his victories probably were equestrian or gymnastic.

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